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ABSTRACT

A study analyzed the motives of inmates participating in prison educational programs in Canada. During the study, a prison education participation scale was developed to measure the interrelationship among motivational orientations and the following factors: inmates' personal characteristics, criminal background, present offence and sentence, institutional history, and educational background. The motivational variables examined on the scale could be grouped into five broad areas: personal control, self-assertion, outside contact, self-preservation, and cognitive interest. The inmates surveyed had higher mean scores on personal control and cognitive interest than on the remaining factors. Examination of the survey correlations matrix revealed that conservatism and having a relative noted on an inmate's file were the variables most strongly associated with personal control scores. The correlation between conservatism and a desire to obtain education in order to gain more self-control led the researcher to theorize that since conservatism is often evoked by a harsh environment, antecedents of conservatism such as a bad marriage or a broken home are likely to evoke motivational variables that mediate the relationship between the origins and behavioral tendencies associated with conservatism. Based on this theory, the researcher formulated a number of recommendations pertaining to the structuring of prisons as lifelong learning institutions. (MN)

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EDUCATION INSIDE

Motives for Participation in Prison Education Programmes

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University of British Columbia, Vancouver

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH AND STUDY
IN
PRISON EDUCATION

Report submitted to the Solicitor-General of Canada

April 1983

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This study is firmly anchored in the adult education participation research tradition. But, in many respects it was more fascinating than studies concerning the participation behaviour of largely middle class people. The respondents were nearly all members of lower socio-economic groups valiantly trying to get an education in prison. We were amazed and encouraged by their efforts. We thank the inmates who responded to our enquiries and salute the dedicated teachers who opened gates. In particular, thanks to John Webb, Jackie Nelson, Wayne Knights, Rob McCreary and Henry Hoekma. We also thank Sonia Wolowidnyk who used her considerable talent to facilitate data collection; Tony Parlett for his continuing good humour, wisdom and guidance; Ted Swain for assistance at William Head; Ken Petersen and Robert Bennett for advice regarding Kent and Mountain. John Scott and Peter White, the overworked but professional Pacific region transfer board, as well as Brenda Newbery, were unfailingly helpful; Veronica Nickerson cajoled the computer into producing sensible output and, as various deadlines passed, Bill Cosman waited patiently in Ottawa. Finally, thanks are due to Grant Clarke, the Research Assistant who worked with me on this project. Our ability to collect data and overcome hurdles was largely due to his tact, sensitivity and intelligence.

Roger Boshier

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

It is the voluntary nature of adult education that, for many writers, distinguishes it from other branches of education, shapes its character and is responsible for much of the democratic rhetoric found in its literature. Adult learners inside and outside prison walls have to be attracted to programmes; thus programme planners involve potential learners in "participatory" processes and try to tailor course content and proceses to individual, community, societal and national needs. In North America most effort is directed toward the satisfaction of individual needs; thus the radical learner-centredness embodied in Knowles' (1980) notion of andragogy, and similar formulations, is widely accepted.

There is an influential body of opinion which opposes mandatory adult or continuing education (see Ohliger, 1974) and, fortunately, the practice has not reached the Canadian prison system. Some prisoners are cajoled or persuaded to "try" the education programme but, in the final analysis, it is the inmate who decides. In each of the prisons studied here there was a core group of inmates who regarded participation in and the survival of the education programme as a matter of utmost importance. But, despite the enthusiasts, most inmates do not participate. If the "educational model" (see Morin, 1981) is to be expanded, prison authorities will need to understand factors that impel some inmates into and keeps others away from education programmes. A "worst case" scenario would be a

situation where experts design programmes, mount cogent arguments concerning the benefits of education, hire instructors, acquire materials and then find effort wasted because inmates do not participate. This situation is often faced by programme planners outside prison walls. It jeopardizes community adult education programmes and, in the intensified atmosphere of the prison, could be fatal to the future of the educational model. Reviewers involved in the OISE (Ontario Institute for Studies in Education) Report to the Solicitor-General concerning education and training in the Canadian corrections system were:

> struck often by the amount of voluntary behaviour encouraged to exist in prisons, particularly those designated presently as medium and minimum security. The impression was reinforced by a comment from a prison worker to the effect that little or nothing happens in prisons in a programmatic sense that the inmates will not support. Participation in educational programmes at present is voluntary, and therefore within limits meets the major condition of adult education (1978, p. 27)

The OISE report appeared to suggest that although there might be debate about the extent to which the typical inmate is an "adult" (as defined by adult educators) the voluntary nature of their behaviour creates a need to understand, predict and ultimately control forces that facilitate and inhibit participation. Moreover, while many inmates avail themselves of opportunities to participate in education programmes, most fail to do so.

In one sense, prison educators have a captive audience but, in many respects, they are in a situation that strongly resembles that confronted by adult education outside the fence. Indeed, economic problems have created a situation where community adult educators now face a situation that strongly resembles that of the prison educator. The effectiveness, and sometimes the survival of a programme, depends upon the programmer's ability to acquire a thorough understanding of the needs, preferences and modus operandi of their potential participants. Thus, in some respects, participation research in the prison is analogous to market research outside. Knowledge concerning forces that facilitate and inhibit participation in prison education programmes is needed so authorities can remove barriers that impede and create incentives to encourage participation behaviour. Participation research thus has implications for the psychological and educational well being of inmates and ramifications for penal policy. In the world "outside" policymakers are hearing demands for the democratization of education and the design of informal, non-formal and formal opportunities for learning that attract the disadvantaged, the timid, and psychologically vulnerable who have been discouraged by previous encounters with educational and other authorities.

In twenty years it will be interesting to examine the extent to which the educational model was implemented. Thus far, it is in its early days; the prison is still seen by inmates, the public and politicans as a place primarily

organized for incarceration--not education. From one perspective the success of the educational model is dependent upon the exercise of political will. It is a political, not a psychological or organizational problem. Yet, even the most inspired and benevolent motivation in the hearts of prison personnel and politicians will amount to nought if people do not understand and eventually control forces that facilitate and inhibit participation in prison education programmes.

The Participation Problem

From a scientific and practical perspective the participation "problem" evokes several questions worthy of investigation. Some could be researched with ex post facto designs and others within the framework of experimental or quasi-experimental designs (Cook & Campbell, 1979).

If researchers compare the characteristics of participants and non-participant "controls" it will be possible to examine the extent to which the target audience, if there is one, is being attracted to programmes. Moreover, clientele surveys could identify variables most strongly associated with the decision to <u>begin</u> and those associated with the probability of <u>completing</u> an educational programme. The focus in this type of study would be on the antecedents of participation.

Participation in education programmes outside prisons is deemed to occur because of complex interactions between "person" and "environment" variables. The situation is no different inside prisons. Indeed, because they are "total" institutions

(Wallace, 1971) and "environment" variables can be manipulated for either malevolent or benevolent purposes, studies of person/environment interactions are particularly appropriate in prison settings. No doubt some of the variance in participation stems from internal psychological variables within the inmate. But even without considering the exhortations of Skinner (1953; 1971), Lewin (1936), or Bandura (1977), it is obvious that variables emanating from beyond or within the prison environment modify or interact with inmate variables.

Inmate participation rates could be increased or decreased by manipulating key variables in the prison environment. Some prisoners say the new pay scale for inmates is a deterrent to participation; others cite pay as a trivial variable. Some say the cascading policy disrupts educational plans; others say their desire to get into a "minimum" environment transcends educational aspirations. Whatever the truth of the matter, the educational model will be more successfully implemented if authorities understand what influences inmate participation. For researchers intent on building durable theory designed to facilitate an ability to understand, predict and control participation, it will be necessary to adopt paradigms and analytic strategies capable of incorporating the full-range of variables, and their interactions, associated with participation. It will then be possible to identify independent variables which can be manipulated to facilitate participation.

Changes Associated with Participation

Short-Term Changes

Qualitative evidence suggests that inmates in university programmes undergo a dramatic change in motivation. It is thought that their initial motivation is egocentric, self-centered and, in Maslow's (1954) terminology, deficiency-oriented. As a result of exposure to liberal studies (see Duiguid, 1981; Knights, 1981; Fawcett, 1981) they are presumed to develop an intrinsic interest in the subject and, in the view of some, overcome cognitive deficits.

While inmates remain in the correctional system it should be possible for researchers to identify and follow a cohort of students. Data on the dependent variables of interest should be collected within the framework of a time-series or true experimental design.

Another aspect of this question concerns the extent to which prison education programmes are associated with an increase in the "participational" behaviour of inmates. Authors of the 1919 Report (Adult Education Committee, 1919), Bryson (1936), Hallenbeck (1960), Verner and Booth (1964), amongst others, all note that adult education has traditionally tried to help people become concerned with the responsibilities of citizenship. As Hallenbeck noted:

> The involvement of people in the improvement of their communities, understanding of and participation in politics, and effectiveness in organizational membership, are things on which democracy hangs. Democracy would fail because people refuse to, or forget to, play their parts in the cooperative life of the communities in which they live, or because they do

> not take the trouble to understand or express their opinion with reference to the issues and problems of the community, state, nation, and the world to which they belong, or because they do not understand the meaning and importance of democratic behaviour in their own lives (1960, p. 37)

Participation is also central to the notion of lifelong education and the learning society (Boshier, 1980) and an esential part of innovative learning as described in a report to the Club of Rome (Botkin, et al., 1979). It is also essential to the creation of a "just community" (Kohlberg, 1971; 1974).

It may seem naive or utopian to hope that prison inmates in education programmes will become more participational than non-participant controls. In the intense atmosphere of the prison where violence and treachery is commonplace, only optimists would hope for such an outcome. Yet, if the cognitive deficit theory is correct (see Duguid, 1981a) "clear-thinking" inmates should be capable of and ought to be encouraged to manifest participational behaviours in and out of prison.

It is the desire to achieve participational outcomes that caused educators associated with the University of Victoria project to create an "alternative" community, insulated from the rest of the prison. They aimed to acquaint inmates with people whose ideas challenge their beliefs and values. Thus, for Ayers, et al. inmate students must be isolated from the institution "since its personnel and practices simply mirror the moral and physical world the students are familiar with" (1980, p. 6) Teaching staff are not aloof from or the same as inmate-students. Rather they try to expose inmates to new or 'out-of-the-ordinary' input in the form of films, art, music, ideas.

But most importantly for present purposes, they try to foster a sense of participation by encouraging the development of student councils, teaching assistants, group decision-making, consensus and a "general refusal to let institutional policies or mores govern life within the university area" (1980, p. 6).

Long-Term Changes

Any widespread application of the "educational model" would be greatly enhanced if it were demonstrated that participation in prison education programmes is associated with "desired" outcomes (such as a lower recidivism rate among participants). In the introduction to their study Ayers, et al. (1980) speculate about the extent to which the effects of education are "fragile and limited" or "significant and long-term". Nevertheless their work was a spectacular statement concerning the benefits of participation. In this study only 14 percent of those who had experienced the University of Victoria programme were reincarcerated in contrast to 52 percent of a matched control group. These results are very promising and confirm anecdotal evidence offered by prison educators. But it will be necessary to overcome awkward methodological problems associated with this type of study. The soundest approach would be to randomly assign inmates to an education (treatment) or control condition. Some might complain that this is unethical but, in view of the fact most inmates are denied access to education, the control subjects would only be experiencing the status quo. Random assignment would overcome problems associated with matching (While the "eligible" and "matched" groups in the

Ayers, et al. (1980) study were largely equivalent, inmates in the education programme were better educated at the outset than were the controls). A second problem concerns outcomes like recidivism which are more difficult to define and measure than is generally realized. A third problem relates to the quality of inmate records. "Outcome" researchers require better and more accurate data than that currently available in inmate and other files. Nevertheless, despite the need for sound research concerning changes associated with participation in prison education programmes extant evidence is very provocative. Moreover, it represents a positive ray of light in the dismal atmosphere of the penitentiary where, because so many people believe "nothing works" (see Martinson, 1974 and the reply by Ross & Gendreau, 1980) self-fulfilling prophecies come true with monotonous regularity.

CHAPTER TWO

QUALITATIVE PERSPECTIVES

From both an inmate and official perspective the participation problem appears to have three facets. The first concerns facilitators and inhibitors that impel inmates into and away from education programmes, the second concerns changes in motivation and behaviour associated with participation in programmes, the third concerns the long-term impact of prison education programmes. It is the possibility that prison education programmes may ameliorate recidivism which is of greatest interest.

Good participation studies will be cast in coherent theoretical frameworks that are testable, parsimonious and significant (see Boshier, 1979; Marx, 1963). Ideally, attempts to create theory will be tested against inmate perceptions and the experience of others with knowledge of prisons.

The Inmate View

At all stages of this study conceptual decisions and empirical operations were checked against the perceptions of prison educators and inmates. Many inmates expressed themselves verbally; others wrote letters. Their perspectives on the participation problem helped shape the direction and methodology of this study.

Facilitators and Inhibitors

Fred[1] had been involved with programmes since 1954 in practically every institution west of and including Stony Mountain. He has had long enough to observe forces that facilitate and inhibit participation. In a letter he noted that

> Most of the forces involved are interrelated and to some extent, dependent upon each other. Education within institutions is unique in the sense that, inmates for the most part are bound up in a rigid code of inter-personal relationships toward one another, and united in a common resistance to oppression, whether...valid, real or imaginary....It should be obvious that our priorities are susceptible to this complex set of conditions and circumstances (June 28, 1982).

From Fred's point of view the facilitators (of participation) were the status and self esteem associated with education programmes, the development of an ability to compete in the job market, the avoidance of mental "regression" and "stagnation", and the desire to maintain "identity" and "individualism". Fred says he was also motivated by a "fear of becoming a stereotyped public parasite", by the "minimal encouragement received by staff and relatives" and his wish to have a better life upon release. He says the inhibitors do not have an equal effect on all inmates. For him the chief deterrents to participation are:

1. Vocational certificates received in prison are not always recognized by Provincial and Federal authorities. (Fred maintains that staff lie about the "validity" of institutional certificates.)

2. Vocational staff are poorly qualified and "pay cheque oriented".

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[1]Except where an inmate has contributed to the public record all names used are pseudonyms.

3. The public does not accept or encourage employees trained in penitentiaries.

4. Training is frequently interrupted by lock-ups, transfers and suchlike.

5. Programmes are unstable and likely to change in response to budgetary and political pressure.

6. Inmates in education have to sacrifice other activities.

7. By submitting to education, inmates are placing the "persuasive advantage" in the hands of administrative personnel.

Most of Fred's experience had been in vocational shops. In contrast, Michael was enrolled in the University of Victoria programme at Matsqui institution. For him the most significant factor in motivation

> is that the school is seen as an elitist environment where oppression and ego-threatening situations are minimal ("easy time" in the con vernacular) (nd., June, 1982)

The consequences or outcomes associated with participation were critical. In his view the variables that most affect motivation

> are the amount of incarceration involved and the degree of success the convict student attains. The latter variable is the particularly stimulating reinforcement which the convict student obtains through his relationship with the professor and the grade he obtains through the same teacher....In most cases the motivation changes in relation to the amount of time served...from pure self interest to a genuine interest with socially acceptable ramifications.

George, a 53 year old inmate who managed to stay outside for 20 years, reinforced these perceptions. He said that

> The location of the school is important in that it gets a person away from the prison environment. The instructors are great, we are treated as serious students with no jailhouse jive...People in the university programme here seem to have some status in

> the prison which may be part of the trip. People in the G.E.D. programme take some good natured ribbing which may or may not enter into participation. (nd, June, 1982)

Insightful perspectives on the participation problem were offered by a William Head inmate who attended the National Conference in Prison Education. Whetstone (1981) described himself as a four time loser who became involved with the University of Victoria programme at the British Columbia Penitentiary. At first he was primarily motivated by self-interest and the exhortations of friends who told him to "fraud it for one term". "That should be enough time to get security off your back as an escapee, and get you a cell in B7" (a better part of the institution). His initial visit to the University of Victoria classrooms "clinched" his enrolment. The geniality of the teachers and students impressed him. Indeed "there was a marked difference in the ambiance of the room" even when the door was open to the rest of the prison. When the door was shut there were 30 or so convict/students and two teachers who "everyone seemed concerned to assure me were not penitentiary staff but University of Victoria people".

Later, Whetstone discovered that in several important respects the education centre was an island where the usual inmate codes and norms did not apply. For example, between students who "exhibited any spark of motivation" there was comradeship, a definite "sense of cooperation and affiliation". Even outside the university, in the prison proper, "the student bond, the scholarly pursuit, was...an escape". Thus, "the

university area itself was a refuge from the violent tension of the prison, for once that door was shut it was as if the prison was locked out."

Unlike the OISE reviewers, educators associated with the University of Victoria programme at Matsqui were also convinced that it was necessary to isolate the "school" or "university" from the rest of the prison. They cite Seashore (1976) who recommends insulation from the prison to prevent"...automatic contamination by association". The matter was discussed by inmates interviewed during the Ayers, et al. evaluation of the Matsqui programme. One respondent said:

> The environment of the academic centre was quite different from the rest of the institution, with students feeling less repressed--they could not only learn but also express themselves and their opinions more freely than anywhere else in the prison.

Another noted that:

> There is a great deal of difference between the atmosphere of the academic centre and the rest of the prison. The prison was generally tense, forcing people to keep a low profile, while the U. Vic. area was much more relaxed leading to a lowering of personal barriers.

A third respondent reported that:

> The university community has a direct effect on the prison as a whole, being more peaceful and creative. Students often help defuse potentially violent situations among non-students by encouraging a more rational solution to a problem (1980, p. 36).

More surprising than the insulated physical environment were psychological circumstances that not only failed to reinforce but overtly violated the inmate "code". When

returning to prison an inmate assesses his situation in terms of risks and costs. The evaluation leads to a decision about how to serve the sentence. This decision involves assessment of parole possibilities, the likelihood of a transfer to lesser security and work placements.

When Whetstone first encountered the education programme in the B.C. Penitentiary he found that besides the two regular instructors there were two convict/tutors. They were both fourth year students and "highly motivated". At this stage Whetstone, like nearly all his colleagues, said he conformed to the code which attaches a stigma to anything construed to be rehabilitative. Thus he was "shocked" when he overheard inmate tutors refusing to help a student plagiarize a paper. "This," he said, "was a direct contradiction of the convict code of solidarity against all authority."

Whetstone's perceptions were reinforced by Bell (1982) a student who made a "convocation address" at William Head institution, and Ben an inmate at Kent Institution who felt the stigma attached to the education programme can endanger inmate/students. Bell (1982) identified three sources of instability that intrude upon the place of education in the ecology of the prison. There is a stigma attached to the programme because it is perceived by some inmates to be "therapy". Secondly, some corrections staff and people not involved in the criminal justice system ask why "desperate" criminals "should have the luxury of a liberal education when their children cannot afford one". Others believe the inmate

was imprisoned to be punished; education is a travesty of that goal. Moreover, there is

> poor parole credibility attached to being a student. Students are the lowest paid of all institutional work placements, therefore, this tends to discourage upgrading. Some students wonder what force is behind the thwarting of their goals at the pinnacle of their studies, forcing them to adopt after two, three, and four years of study commitment, the more standard "gradual release" method, or, as some refer to it, the "cascading principle". (1982, p. 2)

When the academic centre at Kent was moved to a new location in 1982 much energy was expended on skirmishes related to the close juxtaposition of security and educational staff. But, according to Ben, this problem was less dangerous than the one that developed not long after inmates were transferred from the B. C. Penitentiary to Kent Institution. The transfers were unsettling and Kent was soon "shut-down" and "on-strike". The administration saw the education programme as an instrument for mediation. In viewing the situation at Kent, Ben realized that both sides

> were locked into roles which neither could break away from, and neither side was getting anywhere. We decided to see what the feelings were from the population, and if they wanted to continue the strike, or 're-open' the place....After many hours of discussion with the prisoners a ballot was held and 70 percent of the population wanted to "re-open" the institution. (nd, p. 1)

The prisoner/student often has superior reasoning abilities and is well placed to negotiate with the administration. But when inmates find themselves squeezed by an administration on one side and irate prisoners on the other, the usual psychological and physical dangers associated with imprisonment are magnified.

After 70 percent of Kent inmates voted to "re-open" the institution uncertainties continued. According to Ben the prison was in a constant state of turmoil, with strikes, riots and shutdowns threatened every week.

> The routine is constantly been changed, not only for those in the hole, but for the population too...one never knows just what is going on or expected, mass confusion reigns within everyone, including the staff of this prison. (nd, p. 1)

In this situation the university students were accused of being "strike-breakers" because the "re-opening" of the institution had not worked.

> This makes many prospective students leery of joining the programme because they do not want their reputations tarnished in any way, and joining, may in fact tarnish that reputation that has taken years to build. A prisoner's life may, sometime, depend on that reputation. (nd, p. 1)

A similar problem was encountered in Project Newgate, a correctional education programme at the University of Minnesota. Inmates reacted with disbelief when presented with an opportunity to engage in education. But, for many, participation was blocked by the prison bully system which grants prestige and power to the toughest, coldest, hardest prisoner. Thus inmates who side with society, or the administration or manifest too much enthusiasm for programmes seen to be rehabilitative, subject themselves to the "suspicion of other inmates, to the risk of being condemned as a 'snitch', or even to physical harm" (19, p. 57)

Short-Term Changes

Duguid (1981; 1981a) and others associated with education programmes in the Pacific region have spoken eloquently of changes presumed to be wrought by exposure to liberal studies. Many inmates appear to reinforce what academics say although some resist the notion that "cognitive deficits" are "the problem".

As noted above, Whetstone (1981) described motives impelling inmates into and changes associated with participation in prison education. He reported that "halfway through my second term the liberation of the school environment, and the ego gratification I had found there, had drastically altered my academic motivation." His motivation "had altered from an original desire to exploit an alternative environment to a strategy for transfer, but equally important was a developing appreciation for the intrinsic value of a liberal education." He also noted a change in others and, commenting on a later experience at Matsqui said that "men we had known for years as fellow recidivists, but who were a year or two ahead of us as students, were so altered in character and disposition as to be unrecognizable". Several outcomes flowed from changes apparently wrought by education. "Changing attitudes and vocabulary" created a greater social distance between students and their former peers. Affiliative bonds tightened. The danger of being shunned as elitist was offset by the fact senior students in the education programme, because of their superior reasoning and verbal abilities, could argue inmates' causes with

prison authorities. Thus "education initially entered into as an escape from prison is often taken back into the prison community as a positive force."

Although researchers have yet to adequately measure the dramatic changes believed to be associated with participation, educators working with non-inmate populations would be greatly reinforced if their clients reported even half the progress attributed to prison inmates. The language evokes images of a religious conversion. For inmate students the university and its symbols become an icon to be worn proudly. As Whetstone explained:

> In private conversations it came across very clearly that everyone experienced, and was gratified by the same sense of accomplishment that accompanied each successful exam, essay, or the completion of a course. Education was a liberation in every sense of the word, for it filled the vacuum of prison with something meaningful. The attraction of the convict culture with its drugs and shiftlessness, versus the demands of academia, for some men, seemed to be a constant battle of character. Each successful term then becomes both a personal acquittal, and an educational affirmation. (1981, p. 90)

For Whetstone and other observers the crucial threshold occurs at the end of the second year when the inmate has completed half of the units required for the Bachelors degree. By this time "much of the culture has beem transmitted and the individual thinks, writes and speaks effectively." Confidence based on "hard won" success brings about a "positive leap" in self esteem. The changes are general and pervasive and, in many inmates, lead to new approaches to physiological health as well. Whetstone also maintains that the individual's "perception of

his relation to the future is dramatically altered."

Referring to short-term changes associated with participation in education programmes, Michael argued that "stimulating reinforcement" received from professors over "a period of (sometimes considerable) time" brings about "cognitive (and) intellectual relations." However, he considers that many inmates are incapable of manifesting "the initial intellectual prerequisites to obtain anything but passing attention from the Professors". He notes that initially skilled students elicit responses and the attention of the Professors which provides the impetus "for subjective cognitive rehabilitation" (which in his view, is the "only rehabilitation").

Michael's personal experience in the Matsqui programme tends to reinforce Whetstone's statements about motives for beginning and continuing in the education programme. He had served 20 months when first visited by researchers gathering data for this study and provided a "personal motivation chart" which described five seasons in his life as a prisoner/student.

> Spring, 1981: First semester--I arrived midway through it and am encouraged to wait for the next semester to begin classes. I am attracted to the comfortable conditions and distinct absence of oppressive authority. Also my parole plans are optimistic of release through programme involvement.
>
> Summer, 1981: Second semester--I am enjoying the classes, getting positive feedback from the instructors. Three weeks into semester, riot of June 2nd ends semester.
>
> Fall, 1981: Glad to be taking classes again. I complete four and one-half credits, three credits were lost in lieu of a wildcat walkout. This is the lowest point in motivation. I nearly quit the programme in disgust over staff meddling in the university programme. Criminal urges which had been dormant since just prior to incarceration return and cause vacillating disturbances and thrills.
>
> Spring, 1982: I overcome my aversion to the programme and

> quell my criminal urges and sign up for seven and one-half credits, including an introductory Psychology course, which strongly indicates to me my preference of a major. Midway through the semester I have my first parole hearing which decides against parole. Oddly enough this hearing has a beneficial effect on me and my grades are the highest yet. My desire for rehabilitation is strengthened and, as a student, I make plans for the future, rather than as a convict.
>
> Summer, 1982: An easy semester, pleasant weather conditions, good mental relaxation. Studies becoming less of an effort for a higher efficiency. Preparing for the next parole hearing. Motivation is a stable well reinforced direction of being a successful student in prison, being paroled to the street, and maintaining a successful student programme out there.

Matsqui was locked-down for three weeks early in 1983 shortly after (but not wholly because) the Solicitor-General announced the cancellation of contracts between the Correctional Services of Canada and the universities. Thus, Michael's progress and motivation was interrupted for a second time. Nevertheless the motivation chart suggests that his initial desire was to use the academic centre as a place of refuge from the general prison population; later he was more motivated by the intrinsic, cognitively satisfying qualities of the education programme.

Ben initially enrolled in education to save his sanity while locked in the special handling unit at Millhaven. After being transferred back to the B. C. Penitentiary he enrolled in the University of Victoria programme.

> I had at that time become interested in the courses not as an escape, but rather as something constructive that I could use, for gaining, and using, upon my release from prison. The conditions at BCP were perfect for this type of schedule as one could put, literally "hours" of free time into homework; a person was fairly free from harassment from the guards, and being enrolled in the programme was looked upon by the

> administration as a positive step, which was duly noted. The fact that there were no security staff constantly "wandering" into the U. Vic. area to check things out, added to the feeling that we were a small secure group and a good rapport was built up between everyone because we didn't have to be on guard all the time. (nd, p. 1)

His initial motivation for participation was primarily escape or survival-oriented. After the transfer to the B. C. Penitentiary he appears to have been motivated by a need for personal control.

These inmate perspectives were confirmed by Duguid (1981; 1981a) who spent six years as a prison teacher and programme coordinator in Matsqui, the B. C. Penitentiary, Kent and Mission institutions. He noted that for the inmate, education programmes are to educate, not to rehabilitate. Yet Duguid, like Whetstone, saw dramatic evidence of "rehabilitation" and a change in motivation.

> Time and again...I saw men begin university education in prison for the most specious of motives and in the course of that education become convinced that in fact they wanted to change. The power of a liberal education is tied to maturing thinking skills, maturing moral reasoning, maturing expectations, indeed to maturity itself. (1981, p. 34)

Thus, casual observation and anecdotal evidence derived from both inmates and instructors suggests that motives for participation change as the inmate proceeds through an education programme. Bell (1982) in his "approximation" of a convocation address said the programme worked for him in that he "acquired a type of routine discipline, unlike any I have experienced in either work or hobby interests in the past". Short-term changes

associated with education seem to extend from the development of personal work habits and behaviour to complex cognitive functioning.

The OISE Report

In March 1978, under an agreement with the Government of Canada, the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education undertook to carry out a critical review of education and training programmes in Canadian penitentiaries. The reviewers were to have adequate regard to both theory and practice. The OISE reviewers tended to measure prison education against concepts and practices embodied in the notion of lifelong education. They deplored the distinction between education and training and the consequent separation of vocational programmes (and instructors) from academic programmes (and instructors), were struck by the outdated skills taught in shop programmes, and suggested that advisory committees be created to increase the "functional relationships" between the institutions and the community.

Participation Inhibitors

Much of the OISE report focussed on variables that impede participation. For example, they found entire programmes closed down because prisons are often far from urban areas and suitable instructors cannot be found. But, even when facilities are available, they found a "distinct ambivalence" (1979, p. 105) within the system about the need to actively recruit participants for education programmes. They found a few

institutions where "considerable effort" was being made but in the rest "an odd and confusing mixture of incentives" which "play havoc" with inmates. The reviewers felt that this problem was particularly relevant to the many illiterate inmates who do not participate in education. They also noted, with some amazement, that records must be kept concerning the progress of inmates through education programmes. It was felt that the desired level of "informing, counselling and persuading" would be enhanced if proper records were kept. This is crucial when inmates are moved from institution to institution.

For the OISE reviewers it was the inmates' freedom to choose from available work alternatives that makes the "incentive" matter one of considerable importance. The reviewers concluded that the existing incentives were "confusing and contradictory". Indeed, they found evidence that some institutions deliberately confuse the situation and use it to punish inmates. The most crucial incentives for participation were those related to survival in the inmate community. The next most powerful incentive was related to release. "Nothing can compare with that..." (1979, p. 109). Yet the "greatest confusion" concerned the purported relationship, or lack thereof, between participation in education and parole probabilities. The reviewers concluded that there was "much obscurity" concerning the parole board attitude toward participation in education programmes. There should be a positive relationship between the two. Indeed

> ...all confusions should be removed as far as possible. Clear relationships between performance in

> educational programmes and the length of a sentence will contribute significantly, not only to participation in those programmes but also...to the level of performance in those programmes. (1979, p. 110)

As well as highlighting a need to facilitate the participation behaviour of illiterates, the OISE reviewers, like authorities in other countries (see Thomas, 1981) were mindful of the fact penitentiaries are increasingly becoming the home of inmates serving long sentences. While rejecting the notion that participation should be compulsory, inmates should be counselled and tested to a point where they have sufficient information upon which to base a decision to participate. People doing long sentences should have an opportunity to change their minds at any time. Indeed, educational personnel should have "regular and frequent opportunities to solicit" inmates who have previously declined an opportunity to participate. Recruitment, advertising and "persuasion" practices used by adult educators in community settings should be used. Prison inmates, like adults outside, will often initially decline to participate in education because of previous experiences in schools. But, given optimal conditions and positive consequences known to flow from participation it should be possible for prison educators to change the behaviour of non-participants.

Among the most confusing and talked about "incentive" was inmate pay. During the preliminary phases of this study the researchers were told by inmates at Kent that low pay (relative to that obtained for other "work") inhibited participation. But, on the same day, a group at Matsqui decried the notion that

pay had any effect on their commitment to the education programme. The OISE reviewers also heard different views concerning inmate pay. They noted the inmates' need for money, most notably for self respect, but were "not able to grasp" the relationship between inmate pay, other incentive schemes and the overall "correctional" purpose of the institution. Despite the fact many inmates and administrators did not regard pay as a significant determinant of participation the reviewers found that most people believed that "attending school" is at least as demanding as any other task offered by the institution. While agreeing that monetary rewards will not be a major determinant of participation "there should not be any visible or invisible disincentives affecting an inmate's choice to take part in an education program". While some factors are difficult to change, pay is simple to regulate and control.

While many of the forces that facilitate and inhibit participation stem from psychological pressures, the OISE report also drew attention to architectural and other "facility" variables. While recognizing the isolation of the Matsqui academic centre, the reviewers wanted learning to be at the psychological and physical centre of the prison. This has architectural implications and, in the long term, was a recommendation designed to foster participation. They also condemned the austerity of some facilities, noted that most are empty at night and suggested that libraries and resource centres be "highly visible". The reviewers noted that "nothing was mentioned more frequently...than the absence of study space".

The OISE reviewers were puzzled by what they saw as a variation in policy concerning cells and noted that since, in its original form, the cell was a place for study, it was "strange" that studying would not be encouraged.

Prisons are notoriously noisy. Indeed, Roger Caron (1979) said he was once driven to such distraction by noise that he was tempted to puncture his ear drums with a pencil. "I thought it would be absolute total ecstasy to be deaf" (Cuff, 1982, p. 42). Fortunately, Caron did not adopt this desperate solution but noise, coupled with the fact inmates in some prisons cannot use cells for study purposes, probably inhibits participation. Mountain prison is located in tranquil farmland in the Fraser Valley of B. C. But even here inmates contend with disturbing noise levels. James explained the situation in a letter:

> One serious problem I had, and still have, is finding a quiet place to study. Radios, talking, and other disturbances take away from my ability to concentrate. Presently, at U. Vic. our Professors have to raise their voices above stereos, lawn mowers, saws and hammer blows. Add to this people who seem to enjoy interupting class--well you know what I mean. I have no answers for this. In all the years I've been in prison I have yet to find a quiet place to study. (June 27, 1982, p. 3)

Much of the OISE report was directly or indirectly related to the participation problem. Indeed, if all or even most of the recommendations were implemented, participation rates would probably increase.

Despite optimism generated by the OISE report and the National Conference on prison education, the corrections system has yet to make the envisaged changes. Indeed, in the flagship

region--the Pacific--there are signs the OISE reviewers saw things during the halcyon years. The Matsqui programme has faltered and, at Kent, student inmates went on strike (in October, 1982) over what they regarded as excessive security at the entrance to the new academic centre. In January 1983 Matsqui programmes were again interrupted when the prison was locked-down for several weeks. The initiative appears to have shifted to William Head institution.

The Canadian Association for Adult Education (1983) analyzed the number of recommendations implemented in the four years following publication of the OISE report. By their count, approximately 30 of the 106 recommendations had been implemented. Of the approximately 70 identified as "priorities" in the Executive Summary (of the OISE Report) only 16 had been implemented.

During the summer of 1982 (during the data collection phase of this study) many inmates appeared to believe that, while the failure to implement the OISE recommendations was regretable, the sword of Damocles hanging over parts of the education programme posed a more insidious threat. Inmates sensed that the commitment to education was superficial, temporary and likely to disappear at any time. It appeared that uncertainty was deliberately fostered in some quarters to "keep them (the inmates, and even some of the teachers) on their toes". As it turned out "paranoia" about the university part of the programme was not exaggerated.

The Sword of Damocles Drops

In January 1983 it was announced that contracts between universities and the correctional service of Canada would not be renewed. For inmate's in the Pacific region their worst fears were confirmed. Those with half finished university degrees would now have to find other ways to complete their programmes. Although non-university programmes would be retained the university programmes would be removed. In letters to the press (e.g. Turner, 12 Feb., 1983; Smith, 12 Feb., 1983) inmates expressed concern. Smith, a Matsqui inmate, wrote to the Vancouver Sun and suggested that perhaps

> It's now time to change the name of the Correctional Service of Canada. Cutting educational programmes in penitentiaries means the end to 'correction' and all that implies for the control of crime. Without such programmes our penitentiaries will amount to nothing but human warehouses...
>
> In the past 10 years Canadians were able to expect some beneficial return for their hard-earned money, because people in conflict with the law had the opportunity to extract themselves from a disadvantaged class with the tools of higher education. That truly lent weight to the word 'corrections' when the name Canadian Penitentiary Services was changed to Corrections Service of Canada. (12 Feb., 1983)

Editorial comment in Vancouver, Winnipeg and Toronto generally focused on the fact that cutting the university component of prison education would, in the long-run, cost more than keeping the programme (see Appendix A). Like inmates, editors used statistics from the Ayers, et al. (1980) "14 percent" study. The Canadian Association for Adult Education lobbied the Solicitor-General; their focus was the fact correspondence methods were no substitute for "group" learning where inmates

develop cognitive abilities. By the end of February it appeared that the decision to cancel the university component of prison education programmes might be reversed (News Release, 1983).

Fortunately, the announcement concerning the cancellation of contracts with universities came six months after data for this study had been collected. But, in retrospect, the uncertainty created by the Solicitor-General's decision, and it's possible reversal, serves to remind participation researchers that they are dealing with a phenomenon that stems from interactions of internal psychological and external "system" variables. Some external variables reside inside the prison wall and largely concern administrative and physical arrangements that impede and/or facilitate participation. Others are macro-level variables that stem from the uneasy but symbiotic relationships between prisons and society.

CHAPTER THREE

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS

Introduction

Because of the novel nature of this research there was a need to proceed inductively and attend to information provided by prison educators and inmates. Conversations and enquiries which led to the insights detailed above suggested that the antecedents and consequents of participation were complex. Yet in the qualitative data derived during the preliminary phases of this study common themes and widely shared beliefs were heard. Moreover, despite a willingness to adopt a theoretical framework developed exclusively for this study it appeared that many aspects of the participation problem could be encompassed within extant models previously used to study participation behaviour in non-inmate populations. The purpose of this chapter is to briefly review theoretical models that appear to have utility for the present problem. Although initially developed to research participation in general interest adult education occurring in non-prison settings, their constructs and instrumentation appear to have utility for penal settings.

Force Fields

One model with considerable potential is the force-field analysis developed by Miller (1967). Using Lewin's (1936) field theory, Miller suggested participation in adult education occurs

as a function of interactions between personal needs and social structures. When needs and social structures both "push" the participant toward an educational objective, participation in programmes relevant to that objective is likely to occur. When needs push a person toward an objective but are not supplemented by sustaining social structures, participation behaviour will be non-existent or erratic. When needs are low and social structures strong, participation will be high but will drop off after an initial period. When personal needs and social structures conflict, participation will depend on the strength of the social force but there will be tension within the programme. Miller summarized the personal needs and social forces assumed to influence the participation behaviour of people from four major socio-economic groups. His force-fields were intuitive attempts to show how personal needs and social class values and structures combine to determine participation behaviour. This was an important analysis because it stressed the interaction between internal "person" and external "environmental" variables. It also showed that an increase in forces pushing toward or a decrease in forces pushing against participation could upset equilibrium and change behaviour.

A related formulation concerns the notion of "congruence" derived from self-psychology, attitude change, personality theory and cognitive psychology. As applied by Boshier (1973) it portrays participation as the function of a "goodness-of-fit" between participants and educational environments. At a broad level, the entire field of adult education is founded on the

notion of congruence. Adult educators are supposed to be democratic; they diagnose needs and plan programmes congruent with participant needs and expectations. In operations which flowed from this conceptualization, the focus was on the extent to which participants perceived themselves to be congruent with other participants and their instructor. It was found that participants who dropped out of adult education classes perceived themselves to be significaltly more incongruent than participants who persisted.

Conditions and Consequences

A related model with considerable utility for penal settings is drawn from operant psychology. It has been employed by Boshier (1979) to help instructors identify "conditions" and "consequences" in instructional environments that influence the "motivation" of their learners. If adult educators manage to attract learners into their programmes, they are under an obligation to ensure that time is well spent. Adults are usually highly motivated but sometimes appear to be unwilling learners. Instructors have been known to say participants cannot learn because they are lazy or not motivated. These statements are usually incorrect and, furthermore, do not suggest what can be done to change the situation. An alternative view, is to attribute responsibility for a participant's inability to learn, to the learning environment. Many adults are subjected to unfavourable conditions and are not adequately rewarded when they try to learn. A practical way of motivating a person to continue learning is to create optimal

conditions and pleasant consequences. The situation can be portrayed like this:

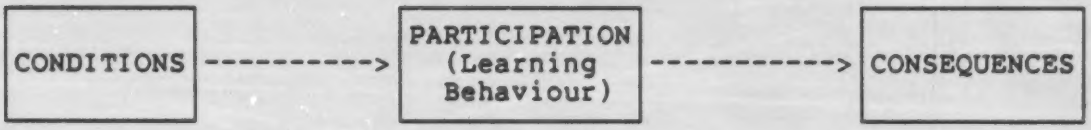

Figure 1. Model (based on operant psychology) portraying participation in education programmes.

Much human behaviour can be viewed like this. Smokers habitually light cigarettes in the presence of other smokers and ashtrays (conditions). If their smoking behaviour has pleasant consequences, the likelihood of smoking in the future is increased. Similarly, if an overweight person is subjected to pressure to lose weight (conditions) and the behaviour (weight loss) leads to pleasant consequences (praise from friends, doctor, spouse, a feeling of lightness and well-being), the chances of continuing the weight-loss behaviour in the future will be increased.

This is a very practical and powerful way of viewing participation behaviour. It suggests that participation does not stem from mysterious and unobservable mental processes but from the creation of optimal conditions and consequences. It is an optimistic view since it suggests that the quality and quantity of participation can be modified by changing conditions, consequences, or both. If someone is not participating, it suggests that the creation of more favourable conditions and consequences will improve the situation. The new "conditions" and "consequences" do not necessarily have to

resemble present circumstances which clearly suit only some inmates.

Most human behaviour occurs as a result of conditions and consequences. When "motivating" a person to participate, there is a need to correctly analyze the conditions that impel and the consequences that reinforce the behaviour. The conditions which impel adults to learn often stem from circumstances beyond the control of the instructor. But consequences which follow an adult's attempts to learn can be controlled by the prison administration and the instructor.

The notion that optimal participation behaviour results from conditions and consequences or a goodness-of-fit between learners and educational environments is congruent with social learning theory (Bandura, 1977) that portrays behaviour as resulting from person/environment transactions. This assumption appears to inspire several theories of participation (see Cross, 1980) and appears well suited to a study of prisons where person and environment variables are so conspicuous and, in the long term, easy to control. It is very difficult for community educators to manipulate or control social structures (or conditions) that interact with personal needs to determine participation. If a a person is poor, has a hostile spouse, sixteen children and no car (to go to classes in) there is not much an adult educator can do to change the situation. But prison authorities and inmates control the "social structures" of a penitentiary. Theoretically, it is possible to modify prison conditions even though many oldtime guards and inmates

have concluded that change is a slow and painful process.

If prison participation behaviour is to be viewed from within frameworks such as those described above it will be necessary to conduct a study that examines the conjoint effects of "person" and "environment" (or social structure) variables. It was beyond the scope of this study (and resources provided) to create a model portraying all the variables, and their interactions, associated with participation behaviour. Rather, the emphasis in this study was on the "person" side of the person/environment interaction encompassed by the force-field and other transactional models. This study was a modest exploration of inmate variables whose interaction with "environment" factors will need to be studied later. It focused on only a half of Lewin's force-field and concerned the motivational orientations of inmates and their relationship to inmate characteristics, criminal background, present offence/sentence, institutional history, and educational background.

Motivational Orientations

The motivational orientation research tradition is one of the best developed in adult education. The interest in "orientations" that "motivate" or impel people into adult education stems from the traditional pre-occupation with democratization and the desire to fit programme content and processes to participant needs.

Inmate learners share something in common with adults everywhere when they enrol in a course for reasons other than the announced purposes of the activity. This kind of behaviour, along with a desire to impose order on the bewildering variety of reasons that impel people into adult education, caused some adult educators to classify participants into types. Typologies assume that general patterns of behaviour exist and provide a shorthand way of discussing them. Moreover, they facilitate research because general types rather than idiosyncratic individuals can be measured. Perhaps the best known was the inspired but largely unsuccessful effort by Sheldon (1940; 1942) to link personality functioning with physical types. After a monumental study, Sheldon was largely unable to convince the scientific community that ectomorphs behaved differently than endo- or mesomorphs.

Houle (1961) created a typology to describe adult learners. Although based on interviews with only 22 people it was the springboard for a now well established research tradition consisting of more than 60 studies. Houle contended that adult learners were goal, activity or learning oriented. Although participants could be "motivated" by more than one orientation the central emphasis of each was presumed to be clear. Boshier (1971) as well as two of Houle's students, created instruments to investigate the typology and relationships between "orientation" scores and other variables. By 1982 it was estimated that about 40,000 learners had completed Boshier's Education Participation Scale (EPS). Boshier and Collins (1982)

were able to perform a secondary analysis on data collected from 12,000 learners in several parts of the world. Motivational orientations are typically used as independent or dependent variables. Most authors try to explain variance in EPS scores by using a variety of social and demographic variables. Typical of this type of study would be the one by Morstain and Smart (1974). Recently there have been two large-scale meta-analyses of EPS data (Boshier & Collins 1982; 1983) which serve as a benchmark. Both report the results of analyses involving thousands of learners in different parts of the world and make recommendations concerning the future of motivational orientation research.

The Present Study

After considering the three previously identified facets of this problem (Who participates? What short-term changes occur as a result? What is the impact of participation?), conceptual frameworks pertaining to the problem, and the nature of available resources, it was decided that the most appropriate focus for this study would be the inmate. It was recognized that inmate behaviour is strongly associated with and a determinant of environmental forces. It was acknowledged that much variance in participation behaviour resides in environmental factors that constitute the inmate's "life-space" (Lewin, 1936). But as inmates are the principal actors in prison education programmes it was deemed desirable to begin work with them and their motives for participation.

Thus, having restricted the focus for this study to the

inmate learner, it was necessary to identify "personological" variables that, in later studies, could be incorporated in a person/environment interaction model. Adult education research is greatly inhibited by an apparent reluctance to do cumulative work which builds on what has gone before. Because of this, and the desire to integrate the present study into established conceptual frameworks and psychometric procedures, it was decided to study relationships between inmate motivational orientations and a variety of independent variables. Orientations are deemed to stem from needs which are in turn related to the socio-psychological origins and circumstances of the participant. The primary aim of this study was to contribute to theory concerning participation in prison education programmes. Thus, the aims of the study were to:

1. Create an instrument to measure motives for participation in prison education.

2. Examine relationships between motivational orientations and:
   a. The personal characteristics of inmate participants
   b. The criminal background of the inmate
   c. The present offence and sentence of the inmate
   d. The institutional history of the inmate
   e. The inmate's educational background.

3. On the basis of the data analysis, create theory concerning relationships between motivational orientations and independent variables.

CHAPTER FOUR

INITIAL INSTRUMENT DEVELOPMENT

Prison Education Participation Scale

Conceptual and Psychometric Background

Early adult education "motivation" researchers had no psychometrically or conceptually defensible instruments to use. Motives for participation were usually measured with brief statements of dubious conceptual origin embedded in long interview schedules or questionnaires. About twenty years ago the situation improved after Houle (1961) wrote The Inquiring Mind. For this succinct book Houle interviewed 22 adult learners and concluded that three "orientations" impelled their behaviour. Adult education participation behaviour was presumed to stem from the existence of a goal, activity or learning orientation. Although a person could be "motivated" by more than one orientation and there was thus some overlap between them, the central emphasis of each was presumed to be clear. They were to be portrayed as three slightly overlapping circles. In psychometric language the orientations were presumed to be slightly correlated and thus pursued with factor analysis followed by oblique rotation.

Houle's typology was primarily derived from a qualitative analysis. The Inquiring Mind did not present statistics showing the inter-relationships between the orientations; moreover, the questionnaire used to derive them never became available for public scrutiny. Despite this, the work began one of the few

discernible research traditions in adult education. Sheffield (1964) and Burgess (1971), two of Houle's students, created instruments that attempted to measure factors related to those described in Houle's typology. Twenty years after Houle published his typology these instruments are rarely used. Rather, the most frequently used instrument is Boshier's (1982) Education Participation Scale which is the latest version of an instrument first used for data collection in 1969. Boshier (1971) attempted to test the Houle typology by constructing and factor analyzing a 48 item instrument with items based on Houle's book and interviews with adult learners. The items were cast on a nine-point scale which ranged from "Very much influence" to "Very little influence". In 1976 the scale was revised; it was commercially published in 1982. The standard form of the EPS contains 40 items cast on a four-point scale (No influence, Little influence, Moderate influence, Much influence).

The motivational orientation (EPS) literature has two branches. Researchers interested in the structure of motives for participation (motivational orientations) administer the scale, factor analyze the data and use various rotational procedures to generate factorial models that explain participant motivation. Boshier's (1971) search for Houle's typology was of this type. He produced fourteen oblique first-order factors subsequently subject to a second and then third-order analysis. The analysis ended with four essentially uncorrelated factors not particularly isomorphic with Houle's typology. A more

important study in the structuralist tradition was an analysis of EPS data derived from the aforementioned 12,000 learners plus another 3,000 in North American and South East Asia. In this study Boshier and Collins (1983) did a series of cluster analyses in a search for Houle's typology. They concluded that, whilst a six factor solution had more heuristic and scientific utility, and was more psychometrically defensible than a three factor model, Houle's intuition was partially confirmed.

But structural questions have evoked little interest compared to the concern with functional relationships between EPS scores and other variables. Thus, the second branch of the motivational orientation research tradition encompasses studies where EPS scores are dependent variables and usually "predicted" by varied socio-demographic variables.

Development of the "Prison" form of the EPS

The general form of the EPS has norms derived from learners scattered throughout the world and a stable and pure factor structure. Thus it was tempting to import it into the present study. But, after due consideration, it was decided to develop a unique prison-oriented form of the EPS. This decision was reached after

i. realizing that the 40 items in the general form did not encompass some of the unique "motivators" that, as a result of imprisonment, impel inmates into educational programmes; and

ii. considering resistance that could be encountered by using a "laid-on" instrument that could be construed to be a psychological "test" over which inmates had no

control.

Having regard to these and other factors it was decided to measure inmate orientations with a prison-oriented EPS which inmates would help construct. It would have the same scaling format and factoring procedures as employed in the general form of the EPS. But items would be provided by inmates and prison educators. Eventually, the first form of the Prison Education Participation Scale (PEPS) was composed of 60 items derived from a literature search, interviews with prison educators and, most importantly, conversation with inmates.

Thus, in the first phase of the study interviews were held with:

Dr. Tony Parlett, Director of Education and Training, Pacific Region, Correctional Service of Canada;

Ted Swain, Director of Education, William Head Institution

Peter Merritt, Director of Education, Matsqui Institution

Ken Peterson, Deputy Warden, Kent and Mountain Institutions

Robert Bennett, Director of Education, Kent Institution

These were followed by visits to inmates in Kent, Mountain, Matsqui and William Head prisons. At Kent the researchers had conversations with an English class of ten inmates. The pattern established here was followed elsewhere. After establishing that the investigators were from the university, inmates were invited to speak openly about forces that facilitate and inhibit participation in prison education programmes. As reasons were offered they were written on a blackboard or flip chart. Letters received from inmates suggested that these initial

visits significantly allayed suspicion. The conversations were animated and yielded a lengthy list of "forces". During lunch at Kent an inmate approached the investigators and suggested that they return a week later when another class would be available. Thus, a fruitful visit to Mountain prison was followed by another sojourn in Kent. This was followed by visits to Matsqui and William Head. Approximately 40 inmates participated in these discussions. Whilst some remained silent many endorsed or decried "forces" suggested by more vociferous colleagues.

Items provided by inmates were written on cards (one per card) and supplemented by 20 drawn from the general form of the EPS. This yielded a total of 88 potential items. These were then sorted into a-priori factors. Even at this early stage it was apparent that some items concerned "Preparation for Release", "Personal Control", "Self Assertion" and suchlike. Items were thus arranged and rearranged in six heuristically derived factors. Because inmates in different institutions offered similar reasons to explain participation behaviour there was considerable redundancy in the initial pool of 88 items. The 28 most redundant items were thus eliminated. The remaining 60 were arranged so item 1 would represent Hypothesized Factor 1, item 2 would be from hypothesized factor 2, and so on. Thus items expected to load on the same factor were systematically distributed throughout the instrument. As noted the items were cast on a four-point scale. Here are the instructions and the first three items:

Think back to when you enrolled in the education programme and indicate the extent to which each of the reasons listed below influenced you to participate.

Circle the category which best reflects the extent to which each reason influenced you to enrol. Circle one category for each reason.

No reason for enrolling is any more or less desirable than any other reason. Please be frank. There are no right or wrong answers.

START HERE:

1.	To experience a positive atmosphere	No influence	Little influence	Moderate influence	Much influence
2.	To talk about something different	No influence	Little influence	Moderate influence	Much influence
3.	To change how I will live on the street	No influence	Little influence	Moderate influence	Much influence

On the 60 items in the first form of the PEPS 40 originated from interviews with staff and inmates; 20 were borrowed from the general form of the EPS. As noted below, these 60 items were subsequently refined to 40 factorially pure and internally consistent items which now constitute the final form of PEPS available for use elsewhere.

Conservatism Scale

Conceptual and Psychometric Background

Duguid (1981) and others contend that inmates possess many attributes of the authoritarian personality. Authoritarianism (or conservatism) is conceived as a general factor underlying the entire field of social attitudes much the same as intelligence was thought by British psychologists to be a general factor pervading abilities and achievement. Duguid

(1981) suggests that authoritarianism in inmates is associated with profound egocentricity. The authoritarian/egocentrism syndrome results in a retarded ability to emphathize, to see or take roles of others, including those in authority. If authoritarianism can be measured and if Duguid's analysis is correct, it appears to be a variable that might explain variance in Prison Education Participation Scale scores.

An attitude is a predisposition to respond either positively or negatively toward an object or class of objects. Each person holds relatively enduring opinions, values, beliefs, which involve attitudinal elements. At a superficial level, each attitude appears to be independent and derived from an objective evaluation of available evidence. Judgements about communists, capitalists, labour unions, sex, politicians, metrification, nuclear armament and suchlike would be made by any sensible person with "the facts". Lay people might find it difficult to believe that attitudes to such issues are clustered together. Authors of The Authoritarian Personality (Adorno, et al., 1950) assumed that they were studying a variable consisting of inter-related anti-democratic sentiments including ethnic prejudice, political conservatism, and a moralistic rejection of the unconventional.

Adorno et al. (1950) tried to define and then account for the presence or absence of an authoritarian personality syndrome. Nine variables were postulated as representing the central trends in an authoritarian individual:

1. Conventionalism--rigid adherence to conventional middle class values.

2. Authoritarian Submission--submissive, uncritical attitude toward idealized moral authorities of the ingroup.

3. Authoritarian Aggression--tendency to be on the lookout for, and to condemn, reject, and punish people who violate conventional values.

4. Destruction and Cynicism--generalized hostility, vilification of the human.

5. Power and Toughness--preoccupation with dominance-submission, strong-weak, leader-follower relationships; identification with power figures; over-emphasis upon the conventional attributes of the ego; exaggerated assertion of strength and toughness.

6. Superstition and Stereotyping--the belief in mystical determinants of the individual's fate; the disposition to think in rigid categories.

7. Anti-Intraception--opposition to the subjective, the imaginative, the tender-minded.

8. Projectivity--the disposition to believe that wild and dangerous things go on in the world; the projection outwards of unconscious emotional impulses.

9. Sex--exaggerated concern with sexual "goings-on".

Adorno et al. (1950) wrote test items to conform to their theoretical descriptions. Of the instruments developed the Fascist (or F) scale became the best known and was widely used. Each item was written as a declaratory statement to which the respondent had to indicate an appropriate degree of agreement. Unfortunately, all items in the F-scale were keyed in one direction; agreement with any statement was taken to imply the presence of authoritarianism. Numerous critics have pointed out that some people tend to agree with any high-minded or

authoritative sounding statement regardless of its meaning or content. Peabody (1966), amongst others, showed that attitude scales are often confounded by acquiescent responding. In the F-scale the problem was confounded because the unidirectional scoring system would compound error introduced by acquiescence. In an attempt to deal with this problem some authors produced a "counter-balanced" F-scale where agreement with half the items and disagreement with the other half was taken to indicate authoritarianism. But these efforts were short-lived because scores on the original and reversed items correlated poorly, if at all. Some writers tried to eliminate the problem by saying that acquiescence is a central part of an authoritarian personality syndrome but these arguments were countered by Peabody (1966), Rundquist (1966) and others. A novel response was made by Berkowitz and Wolkon (1964) who constructed a forced-choice version of the F-scale in which original and reversed items were paired and the respondent asked to pick the "end" (of the pair) they agreed with the most.

F-scale items are complex and tend to broach several issues at once. This is an example:

> Sex crimes, such as rape and attacks on children, deserve more than mere imprisonment; such criminals ought to be publically whipped or worse.

Items like these appear to have three components:

1. The referent--the intended subject or central component of the attitude, e.g. criminal, whipping, sex

2. Quantitative terms--words which give an impression of frequency, e.g. more than...imprisonment

3. Evaluation--the persuasive direction of the statement, e.g. ought to be...

Little is known about the extent to which each component influences the response or the tendency to acquiesce. But, from a psychometric viewpoint, it is clear that investigators should only be interested in the first component (the referent); the other two can only serve to confuse the issue. Furthermore, there is good evidence to suggest that the inclusion of quantitative and evaluative terms tends to confound the response to the referent. Thus it can be seen that double or multi-barrelled items easily evoke invalid responses. If the item shown above was intended to tap attitudes toward criminals (the most central referent) how could it do so without being confounded by attitudes toward sex, attacks on children, corporal punishment, publicly-sanctioned violence, imprisonment and suchlike? There may be overlap in attitudes to these issues but they are not necessarily identical. Another factor capable of inducing acquiescence were difficulties arising from the grammatical structure of F-scale items. Such items contained double-negatives (e.g. There is <u>hardly</u> <u>anything</u> lower than a person who <u>does</u> <u>not</u> feel great love, gratitude and respect for his parents). Even intelligent people have to perform complex cognitive gymnastics to respond to an item like this. Complex and lengthy items thus tend to evoke a cognitive rather than an attitudinal response.

Criticisms like these caused a group of New Zealand psychologists to develop an instrument which, in their view, overcomes problems associated with the F-scale. Wilson and

Patterson, the original authors of the C (Conservatism) Scale summed up the argument thus:

> Traditional social attitude questionnaires are composed of items that are formulated as lengthy and detailed statements of opinion with which the respondent is required to indicate some amount of agreement or disagreement. This item format is based upon the implicit assumption that respondents would be unable to express an opinion unless provided with a fully specified context. It is our contention however, that items presented in the form of detailed propositional statements can never provide a satisfactory basis for the measurement of attitudes. Rather than clarify an issue, they tend to create in the respondent conflict between rating the idiosyncrasies of the particular statement presented, versus the more general issue which he suspects the tester is broaching. Because they are wordy and elaborate, often requiring multi-negative thinking of a complex order, they may not be fully understood, and meaningless or acquiescent responses are the result. The tendency toward acquiescence bias is further aggravated by the directional (i.e. leading or "pushy") nature of the items. Finally, ambiguity is increased because item meaning is dependent upon the point in the statement at which emphasis is arbitrarily placed by the respondent. (1970, p. 4)

The Conservatism Scale (Wilson & Patterson, 1968) was developed in an effort to overcome problems associated with the F-scale. The authors assumed that most difficulties with traditional attitude questionnaires could be traced to the format of items and, most importantly, argued that two central processes occur when people respond to test items. First there is an immediate emotional (affective) response to the central issue (the referent); secondly, judgement is suspended while the qualificatory and justifactory details of the statement are examined. It is during this second stage that various inhibiting and confounding cognitive factors begin to operate. As Wilson and Patterson noted:

> The respondent begins to develop a sense of responsibility and commitment--the feeling that a considered, rational judgment is expected of him since the question is so "carefully" worded. He also becomes more concerned about the motives of the tester in asking the question; catches are suspected and his initial reaction is adjusted in the direction of social desirability. In short, his eventual response becomes more a function of cognitive processes than affective. (1970, p. 4)

Attitude reserchers are primarily interested in the first affective stage. The solution was to abandon the propositional or declaratory statement form of item and instead list a series of brief labels or catch phrases that represent familiar and controversial issues. Thus, the F-scale item on punishing criminals would become corporal punishment or whipping criminals. It was assumed that in the course of informal discussion, respondents would know "where they stand" on the issue and have no difficulty in indicating their "position" on a simple response scale. By having the evaluation occur in the response, rather than the item content, and by restricting items to a single referent, contamination due to acquiescence would be reduced to a minimum.

The C-scale is composed of a list of characteristics that constitute the "ideal" conservative. These may be summarized as follows:

1. Religious dogmatism
2. Right-wing political orientation (in Western society)
3. Insistence on strict rules and punishments
4. Ethnocentrism and intolerance of minority groups
5. Preference for conventional art, clothing, and institutions
6. Anti-hedonistic outlook (the tendency to regard pleasure, particularly sexual, as necessarily bad)
7. Superstition, and resistance to scientific progress.

In half of the 50 items an affirmative response indicates conservatism; in the other half a negative response is the conservative one. Wilson and Patterson's (1970) 50 items were those left after successive item analyses. The original form of the C-scale was widely used. It is reliable and successfully predicted the likelihood that "superstitious" people would avoid ladders (Boshier, 1973), humour preferences (Thomas, Shea and Rigby, 1971; Wilson, 1973), aesthetic judgments (Patterson, 1973), stimulus-seeking (Kish, 1973) and many other behaviours.

It is now nearly 15 years since the C-scale was developed. Although the items were not culture bound several have deteriorated with time. Items such as strip-tease shows, which used to be highly correlated with general conservatism, no longer fit onto a liberal...conservatism continuum. There was a need to "freshen-up" the C-scale by deleting items no longer controversial or associated with liberalism...conservatism. Thus items like "beatniks", "school uniforms", "chaperones", "student pranks", and "licensing laws" were replaced. Table 1 shows the modified C-scale used in the present study.

Applying the Modified C-scale

As noted, the 50 items on the C-scale were coded zero for a liberal response, 1 for a "?" and 2 for a conservative response. Thus, scores could range from 100 (most conservative) to zero (most liberal). Because this was the first administration of the instrument to prison inmates, and 17 out-dated items had been replaced, it was deemed desirable to

TABLE 1

Items and format of the Modified Conservatism scale*

WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING DO YOU FAVOUR OR BELIEVE IN ?

(Circle "Yes" or "No." If absolutely uncertain, circle "?" There are no right or wrong answers; do not discuss; just give your first reaction. Answer all items.)

1.	death penalty	Yes	?	No	26.	space research	Yes	? No
2.	evolution theory	Yes	?	No	27.	chastity	Yes	? No
3.	racial purity	Yes	?	No	28.	human rights	Yes	? No
4.	law reform	Yes	?	No	29.	royalty	Yes	? No
5.	Sunday observance	Yes	?	No	30.	women judges	Yes	? No
6.	trade unions	Yes	?	No	31.	faith healing	Yes	? No
7.	patriotism	Yes	?	No	32.	teenage drivers	Yes	? No
8.	foreign aid	Yes	?	No	33.	racial segregation	Yes	? No
9.	self-denial	Yes	?	No	34.	welfare state	Yes	? No
10.	working mothers	Yes	?	No	35.	church authority	Yes	? No
11.	miracles	Yes	?	No	36.	disarmament	Yes	? No
12.	birth control	Yes	?	No	37.	censorship	Yes	? No
13.	military spending	Yes	?	No	38.	white lies	Yes	? No
14.	co-education	Yes	?	No	39.	corporal punishment	Yes	? No
15.	Divine law	Yes	?	No	40.	mixed marriage	Yes	? No
16.	socialism	Yes	?	No	41.	strict rules	Yes	? No
17.	white superiority	Yes	?	No	42.	jazz	Yes	? No
18.	cousin marriage	Yes	?	No	43.	straitjackets	Yes	? No
19.	moral training	Yes	?	No	44.	nude beaches	Yes	? No
20.	extra-marital sex	Yes	?	No	45.	conscription	Yes	? No
21.	secret police	Yes	?	No	46.	easy divorce	Yes	? No
22.	legalized abortion	Yes	?	No	47.	law and order	Yes	? No
23.	empire-building	Yes	?	No	48.	coloured immigration	Yes	? No
24.	gun control	Yes	?	No	49.	Bible truth	Yes	? No
25.	male superiority	Yes	?	No	50.	smoking pot	Yes	? No

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examine the extent to which the scale still measured a general conservatism factor. The scale is based on an assumption which asserts that all social attitudes--religious, moral, political, artistic, would be intercorrelated to some extent and thus form a general factor. This notion, and the extent to which the modified C-scale replicated results associated with the original version, was examined by using data from the 102 inmates who completed the C-scale. First item x whole correlations were generated by using the program LERTAP. Next, a principal

components analysis was run on the data. Table 2 shows the content of each item (those ** are new items), the loading on the principal factors as well as mean item scores, S.D.'s and item x whole correlations. Although 17 factors had eigenvalues greater than one, Cattell's (1966) scree test and the "natural break" in the decreasing magnitudes suggested that most of the items loaded on a single conservatism factor.

The four factors shown were derived from an unrotated principal factor solution where communality estimates were placed in the diagonal of the matrix. Initial estimates of communalities were derived from the squared multiple correlation between a given variable and the rest of the variables in the matrix. An iteration process was then applied until the differences between successive communality estimates were negligible. Also, note that each of the item x whole correlations was in the expected direction and thus reinforces the existence of a general factor.

Only four of the 50 items failed to load positively on the first unrotated factor which is clearly "general" conservatism. Factor I accounted for 19.7 percent of the variance. Even though some items have a low loading all but four were in the expected direction. "Gun control" which loaded -.21 on Factor I was the most notable item which failed to load in the expected direction. This item was scored so "yes" indicated liberalism and "no" conservatism. Thus it appears that prison inmates deemed to be "generally" conservative were in favour rather than against gun control. In retrospect it was realized that, by

TABLE 2

Items, Means, S.D.'s, Item X Whole Correlations and Unrotated Factor Loadings For the Modified Conservatism Scale (n = 102 prison inmates)

	Item	Mean	S.D.	Item X Whole r	Factors I	II	III	IV
1.	Death penalty	.58	.89	.20	.14	.00	.38	.21
2.	Evolution theory	.48	.75	.42	.42	-.08	-.01	-.10
3.	Racial purity	.73	.90	.12	.15	.10	.30	.32
4.	Law reform**	.25	.59	.26	.24	.32	-.12	-.15
5.	Sunday observance**	.73	.90	.45	.50	-.19	.00	.11
6.	Trade unions**	.51	.81	.29	.17	.08	.02	.10
7.	Patriotism	1.24	.91	.25	.17	.00	.13	-.22
8.	Foreign Aid**	.57	.86	.11	-.06	.31	-.12	.19
9.	Self denial	1.09	.89	.21	.14	-.17	.25	.18
10.	Working mothers	.64	.89	.41	.37	.28	-.15	.03
11.	Miracles**	.76	.89	.30	.36	-.36	.04	.02
12.	Birth control	.36	.88	.30	.34	.13	-.17	.01
13.	Military spending**	1.02	.93	.24	-.00	.30	.36	-.43
14.	Co-education	.06	.25	.30	.22	.44	-.06	.61
15.	Divine law	.82	.89	.51	.58	-.14	-.02	.05
16.	Socialism	.66	.84	.16	.13	-.08	-.24	-.03
17.	White superiority	.23	.59	.15	.04	.49	.37	-.01
18.	Cousin marriage	1.12	.89	.37	.26	.07	-.15	-.25
19.	Moral training	1.43	.83	.34	.33	-.29	.13	-.25
20.	Extra-marital sex**	.77	.91	.38	.51	-.10	-.34	.19
21.	Secret police**	.33	.69	.42	.47	.08	.29	.12
22.	Legalized abortion	.61	.90	.37	.48	.11	-.16	-.12
23.	Empire building	.77	.90	.26	.00	.20	.36	-.20
24.	Gun control**	.79	.94	.04	-.21	.57	.00	.06
25.	Male superiority	.47	.81	.31	.13	.48	.30	-.25
26.	Space research**	.30	.64	.14	.23	.22	-.16	.39
27.	Chastity	.68	.86	.43	.48	.05	-.07	.05
28.	Human rights**	.01	.13	.21	.17	.51	-.21	.29
29.	Royalty	.71	.84	.28	.13	.03	.26	-.15
30.	Women judges	.32	.67	.18	.11	.51	-.23	-.11
31.	Faith healing**	.73	.88	.47	.51	-.19	.18	-.06
32.	Teenage drivers	.36	.71	.25	.23	.20	-.15	.24
33.	Racial segregation	.25	.60	.19	.06	.53	.44	.19
34.	Welfare state**	1.17	.88	.16	.08	.06	-.20	-.01
35.	Church authority	.54	.81	.50	.55	.01	.30	-.16
36.	Disarmanent	.59	.84	.24	-.02	.62	-.00	-.30
37.	Censorship	.40	.74	.40	.38	-.11	.16	-.08
38.	White lies	1.23	.88	.35	.25	.02	-.23	-.11
39.	Corporal punishment	.58	.84	.32	.25	-.00	.38	.17
40.	Mixed marriage	.46	.79	.36	.29	.41	-.11	-.20
41.	Strict rules	.71	.83	.30	.30	-.15	.47	.22
42.	Jazz	.48	.80	.32	.31	.35	-.12	-.04
43.	Straitjackets	.52	.80	.26	.19	-.05	.41	.08
44.	Nude beaches**	.33	.70	.36	.67	.00	-.36	-.10
45.	Conscription	.73	.84	.39	.26	.22	.31	-.19
46.	Easy divorce**	.72	.93	.35	.44	-.11	-.25	-.05
47.	Law and order**	1.66	.69	.40	.39	-.36	.27	-.02
48.	Coloured immigration	.43	.73	.10	.07	.50	.05	.05
49.	Bible truth	.99	.91	.51	.63	-.21	.14	.08
50.	Smoking pot**	.50	.80	.44	.58	.00	-.41	-.19

** Means this is a "new" item used to replace a dated item in Wilson and Patterson (1968)

definition, control is consistent with conservatism. But despite this awkward result the item was retained in the C-scale. The highest loading items on Factor II were Co-education, Gun control, Male superiority, Human rights, Women judges, Racial segregation, Disarmament, Mixed marriage, and Coloured immigration. A high scoring subject on this factor would be against co-education, women judges and mixed marriage and for gun control, male superiority and racial segregation. This factor could be labelled "Macho-racist-sexism" and accounted for 14.1 percent of the variance. The highest loading items on Factor III were Death penalty, White superiority, Racial segregation, Corporal punishment, Strict rules and Smoking pot and was labelled "Racial punitiveness"; it accounted for 10.8 percent of the variance. Factor IV had only two high loading items (Military spending and Space research) and accounted for 6.9 percent of the variance. The minor factors appeared to be primarily concerned with racism, punitiveness and sexual conservatism. Although of conceptual and psychometric significance they are components of general conservatism. Thus in the following analyses the focus is on total (i.e. general) conservatism scores.

Studies of inmate behaviour stemming from this theory and associated formulations (e.g. Eysenck, 1964) are potentially of great significance if prison authorities adopt the "educational model". But as the focus of this study was inmate participation, and conservatism was only one of a number of independent variables, no further exploration of structural

factors in C-scale scores was attempted. The focus was on "general" conservatism.

Although item x whole correlations and the principal components analysis attested to the internal consistency of the C-scale, additional reliability tests were applied by conducting two split half procedures. In the first, responses to odd-numbered items were correlated with responses to even-numbered items. The resultant correlation ($r=.23$, $p<.01$) suggested that the two "halves" were measuring the same construct. In the second procedure a score derived from responses to the first 25 items was correlated with a score derived from the last 25 items. This also yielded a significant result ($r=.65$, $=p<.001$). Test retest reliability data was gathered from nine inmates. The time between the test and retest ranged from one to three weeks but, on average, was two weeks. Total C-scores from the first administration were correlated (Pearson Product-moment) with those from the second. The resultant coefficient ($r=.89$) suggested that the instrument elicited reliable responses. Because items had been altered and social conditions changed since Wilson and Patterson (1968) developed the scale, it was necessary to gather new data from non-inmate populations against whom the 102 Ss in this study could be compared. The results of these procedures are described in Chapter 7.

Inmate Background Variables

Along with PEPS and C-scale variables, data on 36 other independent variables was collected. This was an exploratory study designed to proceed in a more inductive than deductive

manner. Moreover, the researchers intend to more fully explore alias use (see Boshier, 1977), tattoos (see Taylor, 1970) and other aspects of criminality. Thus the criterion used to select additional variables for inclusion in this study was liberal. There is no known theoretical justification for relating height, weight, or eye colour to motives for participation in education. But, because of a desire to test counter-intuitive hypotheses (see Boshier & Collins, 1982) and make use of available data, the net was cast more widely than would have been the case if the study was heavily deductive.

Inmate background variables were of the following five types:

1. Personal Background Variables
   - Inmate's age
   - Height
   - Weight
   - Eye colour
   - Number of tattoos
   - Religious affiliation
   - Marital status
   - Occupational status
   - From a "rough" home
   - Known drug abuser
   - From a "criminal" family
   - Experienced a broken or "rough" marriage
   - Extent of involvement with drugs
   - Has a medical ailment
   - Has a relative noted (on his file)
   - Conservatism score

2. Criminal Background Variables
   - Number of aliases
   - History of violence
   - Extent of violence
   - Results of violence
   - Violence with weapons?
   - Previous penitentiary convictions?
   - Number of past offences
   - Number of previous non-penitentiary convictions

3. Present Offence/Sentence Variables
   - Date of the most recent sentence

Place of arrest (province)
Type of offence
Number of present offences
Severity of the present offence
Length of the present sentence (in days)
Warrant expiry date
Mandatory supervision eligibility date

4. Institutional Variables
Security rating of the inmate
Number of transfers in the present sentence
Dominant direction of transfers (in terms of S-rating)
Number of months in the institution prior to the present one
Average number of months spent in each institution
Time spent in Regional Psychiatric Centre
Experience of protective custody
History of escape
History of involvement in institutional sit-downs
History of involvement in assault(s) within institutions
Number of suicide attempts

5. Educational Variables
Educational level at the start of the sentence
Type of class currently enrolled in
"Level" of present class
Number of courses completed recently
Number of courses completed prior to most recent ones
Number of University of Victoria courses noted
Number of vocational courses noted
Number of basic education courses noted
Total number of courses (all types) noted
Likelihood of continuing education in present institution
Likelihood of continuing education if transferred
Likelihood of continuing education if released
Total "likelihood" (of continuing) score

Data was derived from questionnaires administered to inmates and from a search of files at the offices of the Regional Transfer Board. Data was also drawn from inmate transfer cards.

It is necessary to explain background pertaining to the operationalization of several variables. The explanation will follow the order in which the variables are shown above. Some

of the variables--like age--were simple to code and easy to extract from the transfer card or penitentiary placement form found in most inmate files. But data on other variables--such as whether the inmate was from a "rough" home or a "criminal" family, had to be deduced from files and other documents that, in most cases, were in the file along with the penitentiary placement form.

Research should be replicable; thus the basis for coding is explained below.

Personal Background Variables

Age was deduced from the date of birth shown on the transfer card, the placement form and other documents. Height, weight and eye colour were shown on the transfer card. The number of tatoos, religious affiliation and marital status of inmates was also shown on transfer cards. Note that common-law relationships were distinguished from legal marriage relationships. The validity of this information was reinforced by checking it against the background description of the inmate in the placement form. The Conservatism scale was based on the inmate's responses to the C-scale administered during the course of this study. If a "relative" or common-law wife was "noted" in the appropriate part of the placement form this variable was coded "yes" even if the inmate loathed the person. In some cases the relative was a wife that the inmate had tried to kill. Thus, this variable was not concerned with the quality of the relationship, only with whether or not a name was noted.

With regard to medical ailments the placement form records "congenital" conditions. In this study any evidence of a medical ailment, whether self-induced, derived from acts of God, infectious disease, genetic accident or whatever, was coded "yes". It was realized that many of the ailments may have been temporary (e.g. sore ears, dental disorders) but, early in the coding process it was evident that the files did not contain enough information for distinguishing congenital from other maladies.

The extent to which inmates were from a rough home, a criminal family or had experienced a broken marriage, had to be ascertained by reading the sometimes lengthy documentation emanating from probation officers, the sentencing judge, appeal judges, police officers and transfer board staff. These variables were coded dichotomously. Thus, if there was evidence that the inmate had experienced a "rough" home in childhood he was coded "yes". For present purposes a "rough" home was a place where the inmate (as a child) had been party to or a witness of alcohol abuse, excessive physical violence, or psychological degradation.

Criminal Background Variables

The number of aliases used by an inmate was noted on both the transfer card and the placement form. The "violence" variables were coded like this:

History of violence? None = 0
Yes, in prison = 1
Yes, in community = 2

Extent of violence	None = 0 Little = 1 Moderate = 2 Extensive = 3	¤
Results of violence	None = 0 Property damage = 1 Injury = 2 Death = 3	¤
Violence involved use of: (If no violence, leave blank)	No weapons = 1 Firearms = 2 Other(explosives, etc.)=3	¤

With respect to the "history" of violence, files were searched for "evidence" pertaining to this variable. The "extent" of violence primarily referred to the persistence of violent acts over time. This led to coding decisions that could bewilder an already perplexed public but, for scientific purposes, made sense. Thus, if an inmate had committed an armed robbery of a drug store, smashed glass and frightened the wits out of the shopkeeper this violence was coded as "moderate" if it was a single or occasional act. Thus "extent" referred to recurring violence. The exception was where an inmate had committed murder. In these cases the code was "extensive" even though there may have been little history of violence prior to the murder. In retrospect, it was realized that the "temporal" (recurring over time) and "magnitude" (minor to major) dimensions of this variable should have been treated separately. Indeed, in some ways, this was a redundant measure of offence "severity", dealt with elsewhere.

With regard to the "weapons" variable, one reported use of a firearm (if it was flashed but not actually discharged during a robbery) was coded 2 ("firearm"). If the file showed the

inmate had used a knife, explosives or weapons other than a firearm he was coded 3 on this variable. If the file showed he had used explosives and a firearm, he was coded 3.

With regard to previous penitentary convictions and the number of past offences, data gathering was inhibited by the fact files had been shredded. Nevertheless, it was possible to derive the information from CPIC (Canadian Police Information Clearinghouse) listings attached to many files. Moreover, the transfer board staff had known many of our respondents for years and could make informed guesses concerning the number of previous offences. Because of this problem it is likely that the mean number of sentences shown below is conservative. Nevertheless, for present purposes it was possible to differentiate first offenders (usually murderers or drug traffickers) from those with a lengthy history of convictions. It should also be noted that where several counts emerged from a single incident (possession of a firearm, robbery, dangerous driving--all part of bank hold-up) they were coded as separate offences. Thus, if four counts were shown on the CPIC listing, the inmate was credited with four offences.

Present Offence/Sentence Variables

Careful decisions were needed with situations where inmates had had mandatory supervision revoked, had been arrested while on parole, or were being held pending court appearances. The difficulties were doubly compounded for a few inmates from another jurisdiction held pending the arrival of documentation or news concerning a "place" in another institution. Inmates

are traded and, like hockey players, await news of a first round draft pick, "future considerations" or some other incentive that will result in their transfer to another region. It is also clear that senior prison officials try to maintain equilibrium in their populations by getting rid of "trouble-makers" and "recruiting" people who will "fit-in". The situation is exacerbated by over-crowding but, in the Pacfic region, managed by the transfer board.

Because of the constant movement of inmates throughout the region and across Canada, the large number of offences committed when an earlier sentence is still "in force" and the incomplete nature of inmate files, it was not easy to operationalize all the "offence/sentence" variables. The date of the most recent sentence was the one shown on the transfer card. Where an inmate had been released on mandatory supervision or parole, had committed a "minor" violation and was rearrested, the "date" noted was the one pertaining to the "original" sentence (that was the beginning of the inmate's most recent set of problems). But, if while on mandatory supervision or parole, the inmate committed a "moderate", "serious", or "major" offence, the date of the most recent sentence referred to the "later" offence.

The place of arrest was the province wherein the inmate was arrested; this variable was not concerned with the place where the offence was committed although in most cases the prisoner was arrested in the same province as where the offence was committed.

Offences were categorized in a typology similar to that used in Boshier's (1977) study of New Zealand criminals. Offences were coded as follows:

Against the Person	{Non-drug = 1 {Drug-related = 2 {Sex-related = 3
Against property	{Relationship implied or involved =4 {No relationship implied or involved = 5
Against good order	{Societal order = 6 {Community order = 7
Against the administration of justice	{Prison related=8 {Non-prison related = 9

The following are examples of each type. Assault would be an example of a "non-drug-related" crime against the person. Before assigning this code it was necessary to search the file to ensure that the assault was not drug or sex related. Even if the motive was to steal the victim's money, an assault was deemed to be a crime against the person. Drug-related crimes against the person included those where alcohol was a major factor. If the prisoner was under the influence of drugs or committing the crime in the course of obtaining or trafficking in drugs, the offence was deemed to be drug-related. Sex-related crimes against the person included rape, indecent exposure, sexually motivated kidnapping and suchlike. After much thought it was decided to classify all drug-related crimes as being against the person (rather than property). A crime against property where a "relationship was implied or involved" was a situation where the prisoner had to come face-to-face with

the victim (or their agent) during the commission of the crime. Hold-ups, where the offender sticks a gun under the nose of a bank teller, 7-Eleven store shopkeeper, or service station owner, are examples of crimes against property where there is a "relationship" between the offender and victim. This type of crime is fundamentally different to a B & E (break and enter), financial manipulation or fraud, where the offender does not directly confront the victim.

Crimes committed against good "societal" order involved situations where the inmate interferred with electoral processes, engaged in riotous behaviour, vandalized public property and suchlike. Prison escapes and parole violations were classified as being "prison-related" and against the administration of justice. Examples of non-prison-related offences which were against the administration of justice were situations where inmates had tried to bribe or blackmail police or court officials.

The severity of the present offence was deduced from the inmate's S-rating on the placement form. In general, it can be assumed that inmates in maximum security will have an S-5 or 6 rating, those in minimum an S-3 or 4. But in each case the code for this variable was noted after examining the placement form. It was not inferred from the inmate's location because, for various administrative reasons, people are sometimes held in locations not compatible with their S-rating.

The length of the present sentence was noted in days. This variable referred to the length of the sentence imposed by the

sentencing judge. Inmates doing life sentences presented a problem. Because life sentences do not have a finite date attached to them the likely date for release had to be deduced from documents on the inmate's file and from conversations with members of the Regional Transfer Board. If reports on the file indicated that an early release was likely the inmate was awarded ten, twelve, fifteen or the number of years that appeared warranted. It is readily admitted that these were little more than informed guesses but it is contended that this was a better strategy than assigning a set number of years to all lifers.

The number of days recorded was the actual number imposed on the prisoner. Thus if an inmate was sentenced to two three-year sentences, to be served concurrently, the code was 1095 (days). If he was sentenced to two three-year sentences to be served sequentially, the code was 2190 (days). This variable had no regard to the date set for mandatory supervision. It showed the number of days meted out by the sentencing judge.

Two other variables, the warrant expiry and mandatory supervision dates, were retrieved from the transfer card and checked against information on the placement form. Each lifer was assigned a mandatory supervision date which conformed to the previously derived "sentence length".

Institutional Variables

The security (or S) rating of each inmate was the one assigned by the transfer board and contained in the inmate's file. The "number of transfers" was derived by counting the

number recorded on the front and back of the transfer card. Where an inmate was held for a few hours or days en route to a more "permanent" location or was temporarily moved to a court hearing this was not counted as a transfer. Thus, for present purposes, a transfer had to be "substantive". Transfers are listed on each inmates card. Here is a typical example:

29 March, 1978, Kent
13 August, 1978, Matsqui
2 February, 1979, Kent
19 September, 1979, Matsqui
30 March, 1981, William Head

The "dominant direction" of the transfer referred to the extent to which he was transferred from high to low security settings. Transfer to a "higher" S level was coded 1; no dominant direction was coded 2; transfer to a "lower" S-level was coded 3. The sample inmate began his sentence in maximum security, at Kent. He was transferred four times and although coming back to Kent after a sojourn in Matsqui (medium security) the "dominant direction" is from a high to a lower security environment. Had he been moved back to Matsqui or Kent after the stay in William Head (minimum security) the code would have been "none dominant". When an inmate began his sentence in one institution, and did not move anywhere, the code was 2--"none dominant"--irrespective of his location.

The number of months in the institution "prior" to the present one was calculated from responses inmates made to a questionnaire. They were asked "Where were you before coming here? How long were you there? Thus, this variable only refers to the number of months spent in the institution immediately

prior to their present location.

Data on the remaining institutional variables were all derived from the inmate's placement form. With the exception of the "number of suicide attempts" all were coded dichotomously. Thus, if an inmate's file or transfer card showed he had spent time in the Regional Psychiatric Centre or in protective custody, he was coded "yes" on the variable. If there was no evidence that he had spent time in these places the code was "no". If the file had blanks (i.e. no data) in the places where this information is supposed to be recorded its absence was noted and a search made of inmate files held by the institutions. In some cases the placement form did not contain the required information but it could be obtained or inferred from a reading of police, living unit and other reports in the files. Thus, if the placement form had nothing recorded in the place where the number of suicide attempts is supposed to be shown, the matter was sometimes discussed in accompanying documentation.

The greatest difficulties in this regard occurred with respect to the extent to which inmates had been involved in institutional incidents such as riots, hostage-takings, and assaults. In June 1981 extensive damage was done at Matsqui institution. Inmates had rioted, set the prison on fire and then spent much of the summer camped in a "tent city" inside the fence. Despite this, few of the Matsqui placement files showed that the inmates had participated in a "riot". Despite what inmates might think every infraction does not get recorded in

transfer board files. Apparently, some large infractions go unnoticed! In the present study the researchers acted conservatively and only assigned a "yes" code when an inmate's file contained clear evidence of participation in a riot, assault, hostage-taking or sit-down.

Educational Variables

The inmate's educational (i.e. grade) level at the start of the sentence was transferred from the placement form. Where the last known grade level was not recorded the file was searched for evidence from which the grade could be inferred. When it was not contained in the placement report and could not be inferred from the rest of the file, it was obtained from the inmate's file at the institution.

Inmates were enrolled in nine "types" of class such as English, Blue-print Reading, Psychology, Political Science. Class "level" distinguished between Vocational, G.E.D., University of Victoria preparation and University of Victoria classes. "Number of courses" variables were used to record the number completed "recently" and "earlier". The "likelihood of continuing" variables asked inmates to assess the extent to which they would continue their education if they stayed in their present institution, were transferred or released. Inmates responded on a six-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = extremely unlikely (that I will continue) to 6 = extremely likely (that I will continue).

CHAPTER FIVE

METHOD

Preliminary Processes

Inmates were asked to talk about why they participate in prison education programmes. The procedure adopted at each institution was the same. First, the researchers set up an overhead projector, explained that they were from the university and engaged in a study of participation. Inmates were shown a transparency which portrayed possible relationships between "facilitating" and "inhibiting" forces that influence participation behaviour. The model was illustrated by referring to inmate pay scales. "Pay might be regarded as an inhibiting force...but, in your view its effects could be offset by a facilitating force". During this opening discussion an inmate generally interrupted the process by arguing that, for him, the pay scale was irrelevant or, at best, a trivial determinant of participation. Inmates were then invited to discuss the forces that facilitate and inhibit participation. The researchers made notes concerning the forces described and promised to incorporate them into a questionnaire that would be administered during a subsequent visit to the institution.

At Kent these preliminary discussions were held in the library and involved a small group of inmates. At Mountain the researchers met with a class of 13 inmates. At Matsqui they met a class of 18 inmates. These preliminary sessions lasted about one hour and, at Mountain and Kent, continued in the foyer and hallways. One week later the researchers returned to the first

institution--Kent--to administer the questionnaires.

Administering the Prison Education Participation Scale and Other Instruments

Questionnaires were administered to inmates in Kent, Mountain, Matsqui and William Head institutions. Researchers largely utilized scheduled classes to meet with inmates. In addition, a few meetings were convened in the academic areas. These became necessary during times for which no classes were scheduled. At Kent, it was also necessary to meet with some inmates in rooms located in their living units. The time allotted to the researchers' review of the conceptual framework and discussion arising from inmate questions varied from 15 to 45 minutes. The key factor in determining how long each lead-in session took was the number and intensity of inmate questions. Once discussion subsided, inmates were asked to fill in the questionnaires. In some cases, inmates took the initiative with their peers by saying, "Let's get on with it and fill them (questionnaires) out."

The time taken to complete the questionnaires varied from 10 minutes to more than half an hour. This reflected the range of verbal and reading abilities encountered in the different types and levels of programme from which inmates were drawn. In general, G.E.D. and some vocational students took longer to complete the questionnaires than university students.

Once they had completed the questionnaires, inmates were given special scoring forms and instructions on how to score their PEPS. The PEPS focused on the reasons inmates have for

participating in prison education programmes. The researchers had sorted the 60 items into logical categories or factors. When all the inmates in the group had scored their results, transparencies were made showing "group" scores on the logical factors; these were superimposed on one another using an overhead projector. At the end of the session the completed questionnaires were handed into the researchers.

The inmates were thanked for their participation and invited to write to the researchers with any additional comments that they would like to make about their involvement in prison education programmes. To facilitate this follow-up, stamped, self-addressed envelopes were left with inmates who expressed an interest.

The researchers were gratified by the trust placed in them by inmates. Qualitative evidence for the fact the trust building process had succeeded was received in a letter from James, a sex offender at Mountain Institution, who said:

> You gentlemen are not connected to the system. This is a big plus for you. You don't dress like the administration, look like them or talk like them. You aren't programmed to think like them. From this aspect you are a sanctuary. It may be a small thing but it carries a lot of weight. (June 27, 1982)

Obtaining Inmate Background Data

Although some background data was provided by inmates, most had to be obtained from files. Thus, after the needed permission was obtained, the researchers read files and penitentiary placement forms located at the Pacific Regional headquarters of the Canadian Corrections Service. The coding

schedule shown in Appendix B was used to extract data concerning personal, criminal background, offence/sentence, institutional and educational variables from the inmate files. Because inmate files are incomplete, uneven and, in some cases, internally inconsistent, it was necessary to read the entire file even though most of the needed information was on transfer cards or in the penitentiary placement form. Fatigue was minimized by making several trips to regional headquarters. The principal investigator and a research assistant made five trips to regional headquarters and, on each occasion, read an average of 10 files each. Both worked at the same desk and, in the early stages, when coding decisions were needed, consulted with the other. It was one of these consultations that led to the decision to ignore the "congential" aspect of medical ailments and code all maladies. It was particularly important to consult when deducing a "mandatory supervision date" for lifers. It took an hour to read some files, 15 minutes to read others. The work was interesting but tiring so breaks, lunches and other diversions were used to minimize error arising from fatigue.

Coding and Preparation for Analysis

PEPS, C-scale and background data were coded and transferred onto coding forms. The data was punched into a file and verified at the U.B.C. computer centre. The CONDESCRIPTIVE and FREQUENCIES routines of SPSS were used to check the minimum and maximum ranges of variables prior to the substantive analyses. Subsequently, successive factor analyses were used to refine the PEPS and to check the purported unidimensionality of

the C-scale. PEARSON CORR (Correlation) or ONE-WAY (Analysis of Variance) was used to show relationships between PEPS scale scores and each of the background variables. Finally, regression equations were generated. In each equation a PEPS scale score was dependent and a variety of background variables were independent. Data for each inmate occupied four lines in the computer file. The researchers had promised inmates that their names would not be used or stored in any computer. Thus each line of data was prefaced by a serial number unrelated to FPS or other numbers used to identify inmates. Thus, in the unlikely event that someone obtained possession of the password needed to gain access to the file they would be confronted with lists of meaningless numbers.

When all data was collected and coded, letters were sent to the 102 inmates thanking them for their willingness to participate. Where inmates wrote letters in reply the researchers followed up the initiative with more correspondence. These steps were taken because the researchers were genuinely grateful for the cooperation received, and without compromising their positon, wanted to avoid giving inmates the impression they were being "used".

CHAPTER SIX

INSTRUMENT REFINEMENT

Prison Education Participation Scale

Initial Factor Analysis

PEPS data provided by 102 inmates were intercorrelated. Next, item means, S.D.'s, minimum and maximum scores were examined and compared with hand calculations on some of the raw data. The correlation matrix was then factored. Because of a desire to produce uncorrelated factors an orthogonal (varimax) rotation was performed. This yielded 16 factors with eigenvalues greater than one. Cattell's (1966) scree test was applied and the content of each factor examined. Four, five, six, seven and eight factor solutions were then generated. During step two of this analysis idiosyncratic items that failed to load on major factors were eliminated. Again a variety of solutions were generated. After a third step during which additional items were deleted the "final" solution was extracted from the correlation matrix. This consisted of five pure, interpretable and psychologically satisfying factors.

Items shown in Table 3 are the 40 that remained after successive factor analyses. Twenty items were deleted during the analyses because they failed to load on substantive factors. The item numbers shown here are the "original" numbers used in the initial 60 item form. In the final form, available to other researchers, items are renumbered 1 to 40.

Table 3 shows item means, S.D.'s and loadings on each of

TABLE 3

Prison Education Participation Scale: Item Means, S.D.'s, and Factor Loadings

	Mean	S.D.	FACTORS I	II	III	IV	V	
47. To overcome past failures	2.60	1.14	.79**	-.02	.16	.07	-.00	.46
3. To change how I will live on the street	3.15	1.06	.76**	-.03	.04	.00	.06	.75
58. To get control of my life	2.65	1.14	.76**	-.02	.12	.10	.06	.21
16. To provide a contrast to the rest of my life	2.71	1.05	.73**	.11	.05	.14	.03	.87
15. To maintain or improve my social position	2.68	1.10	.66**	-.18	-.05	.00	.01	.77
45. To increase my status	2.34	1.16	.66**	-.30	.08	.16	-.22	.72
17. To provide a contrast to my previous education	2.79	1.08	.66**	.08	.13	-.02	.15	.80
44. To prepare for release	2.84	1.12	.56**	-.16	.12	.09	-.03	.47
27. To gain insight into my personal problems	2.43	1.12	.54**	.09	.26	.25	-.06	.47
4. To be accepted by others	1.81	1.02	.53**	-.08	.31	-.09	-.06	.75
49. To fulfill an interest	3.31	0.81	.51**	.20	-.01	.27	.36	.39
37. To supplement a narrow previous education	2.91	1.04	.51**	.01	.19	-.12	-.01	.00
39. To get something for myself	3.58	0.70	.46**	.02	-.15	.14	.28	.75
7. To show the authorities I can stick it out	1.67	1.03	.33	-.54**	.34	-.00	.10	.76
32. To avoid unpleasant jobs	1.75	1.05	.03	-.56**	-.10	.38	.06	.18
11. To impress my family	1.73	0.96	.25	-.58**	.11	.07	-.06	.37
51. To have a few hours away from responsibilities	1.35	0.70	.13	-.66**	.18	.35	-.00	-.12
23. To frustrate the guards	1.28	0.71	-.10	-.70**	.14	-.00	.00	-.12
43. To avoid cooperating with prison authorities	1.32	0.77	-.07	-.78**	.01	.14	.04	-.17
18. To screw the system	1.26	0.71	-.05	-.83**	.01	.10	-.03	-.18
40. To make new friends	1.73	0.84	.27	.06	.73**	.10	.03	.53
34. To get contact with the outside	1.89	1.02	.00	-.19	.70**	.29	.09	.78
9. To talk with outsiders	2.17	1.11	.10	-.01	.67**	.29	.15	.89
20. To meet the teachers	1.60	0.83	-.04	-.33	.57**	.21	.25	.40
55. To fulfill a need for friendship	1.47	0.67	.20	-.32	.57**	.20	.03	-.61
59. To be with friends	1.56	0.84	.38	-.25	.56**	.24	-.06	.35
2. To talk about something different	2.66	1.06	.06	.32	.55**	.28	.17	.64
46. To try something new	2.34	1.10	.28	-.17	.49**	.13	.05	.84
56. To avoid repetitive activities	1.95	1.04	.07	-.12	.27	.68**	.01	.60
5. To overcome the frustration of daily routine	2.52	1.13	.19	.01	.15	.67**	.01	.63
26. To get a break in routine	2.05	0.99	-.18	-.37	.10	.64**	.02	.32
60. To get away from the prison environment	2.29	1.17	.07	-.23	.27	.62**	-.02	.32
48. To stay sane	1.94	1.05	.09	-.07	.21	.58**	.11	.39
13. To get away from other inmates	2.71	1.08	.06	-.27	.12	.54**	.14	.62
1. To experience a positive atmosphere	3.07	0.95	.25	.29	.29	.41**	.12	.63
21. To seek knowledge for its own sake	3.05	1.04	.05	-.04	.09	-.02	.84**	.59
10. To learn just for the sake of learning	2.91	1.11	-.12	-.18	.04	.04	.78**	.13
41. To learn just for the joy of learning	2.90	1.10	.07	.04	.37	-.08	.77**	-.07
30. To satisfy an inquiring mind	3.03	0.95	-.01	.19	.24	.22	.68**	.82
19. To follow-up an interest I had on the street	2.70	1.14	.33	-.04	-.19	.24	.53**	.77
Variance accounted for			22.73%	11.73%	8.85%	5.97%	5.59%	
Cumulative variance accounted for			22.73%	34.47%	43.32%	49.29%	53.88%	

the factors. The five factors accounted for 53.88 percent of the total variance which is comparable to or slightly better than the situation in most studies with the general form of the EPS. The first factor accounted for 22.73 percent of the

variance, the second for 11.73, the third for 8.85, the fourth for 5.97, the fifth for 4.59 percent. Factor I, PERSONAL CONTROL, consisted of 13 items whose loadings ranged from .47 to .80. Accounting for nearly a quarter of the total variance explained, it consisted of items which, when considered together, measured the extent to which participation in education is related to a desire to control one's "life-space". (c.f. Lewin, 1936). Casual observation suggests that for many inmates access to education and the opportunity to learn in a structured setting represents a personal "benefit" that, despite uncertainties, can never be taken away by a capricious administration, misfortune or unreliable friends. Participation for personal control reasons is largely contingent upon individual effort and is future-oriented. From an administrative point of view, participation for personal control reasons must be applauded. Inmates who score high on this factor are using education to make up for past failures, see participation as a tangible and personal benefit to be derived from an institution which in most other respects has little to offer, and are preparing for release. The items and loadings for Personal Control are shown below:

FACTOR I PERSONAL CONTROL	
47. To overcome past failures	.80
3. To change how I will live on the street	.76
58. To get control of my life	.76
16. To provide a contrast to the rest of my life	.73
15. To maintain or improve my social position	.67
45. To increase my status	.67
17. To provide a contrast to my previous education	.66
44. To prepare for release	.57
27. To gain insight into my personal problems	.54
4. To be accepted by others	.54
49. To fulfill an interest	.52
37. To supplement a narrow previous education	.51
39. To get something for myself	.47

Factor II, SELF ASSERTION, consisted of seven items with loadings that ranged from .83 to .54. This factor measured the extent to which an inmate was enrolled in an education programme to frustrate and "screw" the system. Casual obseration suggests that some inmates view participation as a way of defying the expectations of guards and other "authorities". Moreover, some acquire intellectual and social skills that enable them to improve their own situation more expeditiously than was the case prior to participation. The items and loadings for Factor II

are shown below:

FACTOR II SELF ASSERTION	
7. To show the authorities I can stick it out	.54
32. To avoid unpleasant jobs	.56
11. To impress my family	.59
51. To have a few hours away from responsibilities	.66
23. To frustrate the guards	.70
43. To avoid cooperating with prison authorities	.79
18. To screw the system	.83

Factor III, OUTSIDE CONTACT, measured the extent to which inmates were enrolled to make contact with the outside world, resource people, ideas, friends. This factor is not specifically concerned with release. Indeed, "to impress the parole board", one of the deleted items, failed to load on this factor. Rather, high scorers were enrolled in education to gain access to people and resources seen to be independent of the correctional system. Through the education programme inmates can meet and talk with teachers who, in many instances, are venerated by inmates. They can also meet resource people brought to the prison on a casual basis. Participation in prison education programmes also brings access to books, periodicals and films from outside. This factor consisted of

eight items with loadings ranging from .73 to .50.

FACTOR III OUTSIDE CONTACT	
40. To make new friends	.73
34. To get contact with the outside	.70
9. To talk with outsiders	.67
20. To meet the teacher .	.58
55. To fulfill a need for friendship	.57
59. To be with friends	.57
2. To talk about something different	.56
46. To try something new	.50

Factor IV, SELF PRESERVATION, was in some ways related to Personal Control. However, it is hypothesized that high scorers on this factor are psychologically more fragile than high scorers on Factor I. Self Preservation measures the extent to which inmates use participation in education programmes to stave off psychological disorder and to protect themselves from the repetitious, mindless and negative atmosphere which some see prevailing in the general prison population. It is hypothesized that, in Maslow's (1954) terminology, high scorers on this factor are deficiency-motivated. Items and loadings for Self Preservation are shown below:

FACTOR IV SELF PRESERVATION	
56. To avoid repetitive activities	.68
5. To overcome the frustration of the daily routine	.67
26. To get a break in routine	.64
60. To get away from the prison environment	.73
48. To stay sane	.59
13. To get away from other inmates	.55
1. To experience a positive atmosphere	.42

Factor V, COGNITIVE INTEREST, was concerned with learning for its own sake. The same factor is embodied in the general form of the EPS (Boshier, 1982) and, in some respects, resembles Houle's (1961) learning orientation. The core of the factor is learning for its own sake; a secondary emphasis is following-up "an interest that I had on the street". All items but the last were drawn from the general form of the EPS. This is a durable factor that emerges in most analyses of EPS data and concerns a time-honoured emphasis of adult education--the acquisition of knowledge for its intrinsic value. The items and loadings are shown below:

FACTOR V COGNITIVE INTEREST	
21. To seek knowledge for its own sake	.84
10. To learn just for the sake of learning	.78
41. To learn just for the joy of learning	.77
30. To satisfy an inquiring mind	.68
19. To follow-up an interest I had on the street	.53

Scale Scoring and Reliability

Factors are often derived by including items with loadings of .40 or greater. In the present analysis the lowest was .42, the highest .84. The factors are composed of "pure" items that have high loadings on their "own" and low loadings on other factors. In the 40 item form of the PEPS there are no passenger items (which fail to load on any factor).

Although the structural foundations of motives for participation in prison education are of great interest, the procedures described above were primarly implemented to yield orientation scores that could be related to the independent variables listed above. Thus it was necessary to generate a factor or scale scores which would show the extent to which each inmate was enrolled for Personal Control, Self-Assertion and suchlike. Factor scores can be calculated from regression coefficients which "weight" the contribution of an item to a

factor. Thus a high loading item is ascribed greater significance than a lower loading item. The alternative is to calculate a scale score by summing the "raw" responses to items that constitute each of the factors. Both methods have advantages and disadvantages, some of which have been discussed previously (Boshier, 1976). One outcome of the present study was a desire to create a psychometically and conceptually defensible instrument capable of measuring motivation for participation in prison education programmes. Having regard to the fact most users will be prison teachers, inmates, administrators and research personnel who do not have access to computational facilities able to build factor scores from regression weights, it was decided to calculate scale scores. Despite Boshier's (1976) exhortations to orientation researchers, most studies are based on scale scores.

Table 8 (p. 96) shows total scale scores, S.D.'s, and scale score means for each of the factors. Because each factor was composed of a different number of items it is the scale score mean (derived by dividing the total score by the number of items) which yields significant information. Because this was the first study using PEPS and there was no baseline or comparison group against which the present data could be compared, little significance can be attached to the differences between the mean scores. However, this data now constitutes the PEPS norms against which other inmate populations can be compared.

The reliability of PEPS was assessed in two ways.

TABLE 4

Mean Prison Education Participation Scale Scores, S. D.'s and Test Retest Reliability Coefficients for Each Factor

	Mean 1	S.D. 1	Mean 2	S.D. 2	r
I. Personal Control	39.33	7.39	41.33	5.29	.80
II. Self Assertion	9.00	2.64	9.55	2.55	.37
III. Outside Contact	17.77	3.99	17.55	4.79	.93
IV. Self Preservation	16.44	5.22	16.55	4.21	.66
V. Cognitive Interest	13.11	3.65	16.22	2.86	.60

Coefficient alpha was calculated for each factor. This procedure yielded coefficient alpha statistics which attested to the internal consistency of each factor. The extent to which PEPS yielded scores which remained consistent over time was examined by generating test retest coefficients. During later visits it was found that some inmates were enrolled in more than one class, and had completed PEPS during earlier sessions. As their class was delayed while "new" inmates completed the questionnaires, several "old" inmates volunteered to complete PEPS a second time. Where they did not volunteer some were asked to complete it a second time. The time between administrations was not constant for all test retest subjects but, on average, was three weeks. The test retest coefficients shown in Table 4 suggest that, in general, PEPS elicited consistent scores over time. The PEPS reliability scores were

calculated by intercorrelating (Pearson product-moment) total scale scores from the test with those from the retest. While the number of inmates completing PEPS on two occasions was small (n=9), all but one test retest correlation coefficient was significant ($p<.05$). Inmates made very consistent responses to items in Factor's I, III, IV and V. The test retest coefficient for Self Assertion failed to attain statistical significance but was in the anticipated direction.

CHAPTER SEVEN

INMATE LOCATION AND CHARACTERISTICS

Inmate Characteristics

Despite guarantees of anonymity and the researchers willingness to adopt principles identified with "participatory" research, about seventeen percent of the inmates approached declined to complete the questionnaires. As noted above, each data collection session was preceded by a conversation wherein the conceptual foundations and purposes of the study were explained. Those who still declined to participate usually made it clear that they have a policy of total "non-cooperation" with all forms of research. One Matsqui inmate who declined to fill in the questionnaires told the researchers he was not opposed to them personally but, years earlier, had decided to have nothing to do with "prison bullshit". He would do his time right up to the warrant expiry date and, as well as declining opportunities to participate in research, forego the possibility of being released on parole. Although some non-respondent "leaders" took friends and followers with them, 83 percent of those approached completed the questionnaire and provided the researchers with their name. A few "non-respondents" changed their mind and completed the instruments when the researchers made their second or third visit to the institution. Because factor structure can sometimes vary as a function of respondent characteristics, and to enhance the probability that this study will be replicated in the future, the respondents are described in some detail.

In all, 102 inmates in four federal penitentiaries participated in the study. Although there was no deliberate attempt to secure an equal number from each of the institutions involved, an approximately equal number were derived from William Head (n=26), Mountain (n=25), Matsqui (n=25), and Kent (n=26). The average age of the inmates completing the questionnaires was 30.32 years (S.D.=9.78 years). They were serving an average sentence of 2738 days (S.D.=2166 days). On average they had committed 2.93 (S.D.=3.79) "present" offences; the files showed that, on average, they had been found guilty of 8.90 (S.D.=9.91) past offences. Remember that this was a conservative estimate. The average inmate was due for release on mandatory supervision in 1983 (S.D.=13 years).

The average security rating was 4.24; the average number of transfers experienced by the 102 respondents--during their present sentence--was 1.94 (S.D.=2.35). On average, they had spent 21.73 months in their present location. But note that while inmates had spent an average of 21.73 months in their present location the standard deviation of 82 months was very large (Table 5).

The average grade level attained by the 102 inmates at the start of their present sentence was 9.66 (S.D.=3.13). They reported having "recently" completed 1.93 courses and, before the most recent course(s), another 1.19. When the most recent and "prior" courses were combined inmates had completed an average of 3.15 (S.D.=2.17) courses.

Inmates were also asked about the probability of continuing

TABLE 5

Means and Standard Deviations for Selected Inmate Variables

Variables	Mean	S.D.
Personal Characteristics		
Age	30.32	9.77
Height	66.66 in.	13.77 in.
Weight	155.30 pd.	38.28 pd.
Number tattoos	1.32	.54
Occupational Status	1.88	.97
Conservatism Score	33.90	13.00
Criminal Background		
Number of aliases		
Number of past offences	8.90	9.91
Number of prev. non-pen convictions	1.74	.52
Present Offence/Sentence		
Date of most recent sentence		
Number of present offences	2.93	3.79
Length of present sentence	2738.49 days	2165.74 days
Mandatory Supervision date		
Institutional history		
Security rating	4.24	1.37
Number of transfers	1.94	2.35
Number of months in present location	21.73	82.72
Number of suicide attempts	.25	.80
Average no. months in institutions	8.67	18.29
Educational background		
Educ. level start sentence	9.66	3.13
Number courses completed recently	1.93	1.38
Number "prior" courses completed	1.19	1.48
Total number courses noted	3.15	2.17
Likelihood of continuing if		
- retained in present institution	5.20	1.55
- transferred	4.78	1.69
- released	4.55	1.76
- total	14.01	5.19

their studies if held in their present location, transferred or released. Responses were cast on a six-point Likert scale where 6 indicated that the inmate considered it "extremely likely that I will continue" and 1 indicated that it was "extremely unlikely that I will continue". These scores may have little to do with the inmate's actual behaviour if confronted with a transfer or

release. But for present purposes, it can be assumed that a high score indicates an intention to continue. Table 6 shows that inmates said they were most likely to continue their education if retained in their present location. However, little weight should be attached to this result because the need to transfer to lesser security usually (although not always) transcends the inmate's need for education. Perhaps of greater significance was the fact that when the total "likelihood of continuing" score (14.01) is divided by three (stay-put, transfer, release) the mean of 4.67 suggests that, on average, inmates consider it "very likely" that they will continue. Considering the difficulties associated with being an inmate student the "intentions" implied by this result were encouraging.

Table 6 shows the distribution of inmates by type of course as well as data on occupational and marital status. Of the 102 subjects 17 (16.7 percent) were taking vocational courses. Twenty-six (25.5 percent) were taking their G.E.D. Twelve (11.8 percent) were attending a course given by Dr. T. A. A. Parlett or taking a qualifying English course both of which were labelled University of Victoria Preparatory, and 47 subjects (46.1 percent) were enrolled among four University of Victoria courses. Occupational status records in Correctional Service files indicate that 77 subjects (75.5 percent) were assessed at a skilled or unskilled labour level. With the inclusion of the 16 subjects rated at the clerical level, the proportion of subjects in these three occupational categories rises to 91.2

TABLE 6

Distribution of Inmates Among Categories
in Marital Status, Occupation and Class Type Variables

Variables	n	% of Total
Marital Status		
- Unknown	3	2.9
- Single	43	42.2
- Divorced/separated	22	21.6
- Common Law	23	22.5
- Married	11	10.8
Occupational Status		
- Unknown	3	2.9
- Unskilled	36	35.3
- Skilled	41	40.2
- Clerical	16	15.7
- Managerial/administrative	4	3.9
- Professional/technical	2	2.0
Class Type		
- G.E.D.	26	25.5
- Vocational:		
Electrical	3	2.9
Graphic Arts	6	5.9
Blueprint reading	8	7.8
Sub total	17	16.7
Univ. of Victoria Preparatory	12	11.8
Univ. of Victoria		
- English	25	24.5
- Psychology	7	6.9
- Political Science	5	4.9
- Creative Writing	10	9.8
Sub total	47	46.1

percent. Only 6 subjects (5.9 percent) were rated in the higher occupational status categories of Managerial/Administrative or Professional/Technical.

Of the 102 respondents, 66 (64.6 percent) had been convicted of offences-against-the-person. Of these, 23 (22.5 percent) were for offences such as murder and assault where drugs were not involved. But 18 inmates (17.6 percent) were imprisoned for drug-related offences against-the-person (recall

that drug trafficking was deemed to be an offence "against-the-person", not a property offence). Another 25 inmates (24.5 percent) had been convicted of sex-related offences such as rape, indecent exposure, intercourse with a woman under the age of 14 and suchlike. In a few cases, drugs had been used during the execution of a sex-related crime. For example, one inmate had drugged his children before committing indecent acts with them. But as drugs were incidental to what was primarily a sex-related crime his offence was coded as a sex crime. Thirty-two respondents had been convicted of offences against property. Twenty of these had had a face-to-face relationship with another person (usually the victim) during the execution of the crime. The other twelve inmates (11.8 percent) incarcerated for offences-against-property were presumed to have committed crimes (such as "break and enters" and fraud) where no face-to-face relationship was involved. Though not necessarily the nature of their present offences, violent acts had been attributed to 81 subjects (79.4 percent) in or out of prison. Of these subjects, 78 (76.5 percent) had been convicted of violent offences which resulted in the injury or death of others.

Conservatism Scores

The Wilson and Patterson (1968) Conservatism scale was modified for use in this and another study (Pipke, 1983). Because the modified scale was composed of several items not contained in the earlier version, it was dubious to compare scores on the new form with norms derived from the old version. Thus, in an attempt to create baseline scores against which the

inmates could be compared, the instrument was administered to "samples of convenience" at about the same time as it was being used in the penitentiaries. The C-scale was primarily used to examine the extent to which conservatism was related to motives for participation in prison education programmes. But, because Duguid (1981; 1981a) and others argued that inmate students are more fascistic and conservative than students outside prison walls, it was desirable to make an effort to test this assumption.

Table 7 shows the mean C-scale score for inmates was 33.90; they were thus slightly more conservative than the nine correctional educators (who were attending a seminar at U.B.C.) or the 23 undergraduate students who were enrolled in an introductory adult education class. Pipke (1983) administered the modified C-scale to adult educators in Canada and Singapore. The 70 Canadians were slightly less while the Singaporeans were significantly more conservative than the 102 inmates. The table shows the "settings" in which the Canadian and Singaporean adult educators said they worked. Note that of the 63 Singaporeans, there were twenty police officers and eighteen trainers from business and industry. It was more valid to compare the inmates' scores with Canadians who presumably share at least part of their heritage and culture. But the fact inmates were not significantly more conservative than the Canadian comparison groups and significantly less conservative than some of the Singaporeans casts doubts on conventional wisdom concerning "fascist inmates". However, in interpreting this result

TABLE 7

Conservatism Scale Scores for Prison Inmates and Comparison Groups

Respondent Group	n	Mean	S.D.
A. From Boshier (1983)			
Prison inmates	102	33.90	13.00
Correctional Educators	9	29.88	12.25
Undergraduate (ED412) students	23	31.65	13.60
B. From Pipke (1983)			
Canadian adult educators	70	30.34	12.49
- Business & Industry	4	37.50	21.92
- Health	30	30.70	9.17
- EDUC Institutions	19	31.55	12.68
- Statutory organization	3	22.33	17.21
- Graduate students	14	29.23	17.21
Singaporean adult educators	63	43.77	11.90
- Occupation not noted	9	44.77	10.35
- Business & Industry	18	46.61	10.22
- Police	20	45.85	9.36
- Voluntary organizations	2	37.50	9.19
- EDUC Institutions	8	36.50	17.97
- Statutory organizations	2	36.00	28.28
- Government	4	40.00	11.88

remember that many of the 102 inmates had been in the education programme for some time and , as noted below, inmate conservatism was meaningfully related to educational level. But, on the basis of the analysis presented in Table 7, it was concluded that the inmates were not more or less conservative than the "Canadian" comparison groups.

Prison EPS Scale Scores

Table 8 shows the mean scale scores for each PEPS factor. The item means were calculated by dividing the mean scale score by the number of items on each factor. Superficially, it would appear that the 102 inmates in this study were more inclined to be enrolled for Cognitive Interest and Personal Control but, in the absence of other normative groups, little significance should be attached to the differences between the item or scale score means. However, it was noteworthy that the mean Cognitive Interest score ($\bar{X}$=2.90) was comparable to that obtained by 12,191 non-inmate participants (Boshier & Collins, 1982). On items similar to those that constitute the present Cognitive Interest factor, participants from North America, New Zealand and S.E. Asia obtained a mean score of 3.03.

For illustrative purposes mean PEPS scores for the 102 inmates are shown in Figure 2. As noted above, scores shown here were derived by summing responses to items that comprise each factor; the factor totals were then divided by the number of items (in the factor) to get an item mean.

The utility of PEPS scores are illustrated in Figure 3. The mean scores here were derived from Ben (A), Michael (B) and Colin (C). Ben is the inmate who said he began education to "save his sanity". He was serving a long sentence, appeared to be psychologically fragile, but spoke to researchers involved in this study about the importance he attached to education. Ben has experienced numerous Canadian correctional institutions,

TABLE 8

Mean Prison Education
Participation Scale Scores for 102 Inmates in the Pacific Region of Canada

P.E.P.S. Factor	Total Possible	Mean Scale Score	S.D.	Item Mean
I. Personal Control	52	35.56	9.21	2.73
II. Self Assertion	28	10.31	4.26	1.47
III. Outside Contact	32	15.50	5.32	1.93
IV. Self Preservation	28	15.41	5.20	2.20
V. Cognitive Interest	20	14.50	4.11	2.90

violence, isolation and contempt. He first began an education programme while in the special handling unit at Millhaven. Now, years after his first incarceration he is primarily and almost entirely motivated by the need for self preservation. Ben has spent many years in prison. He was thus an enthusiastic supporter of having academic centres isolated from the rest of the prison. He was a "solid" inmate who valued both his reputation and the psychological satisfaction derived from education.

Michael (Inmate B, Figure 3) is the inmate who provided the motivation diary spanning five seasons. He was serving time for a drug-related offence and, when interacting with researchers involved this study, appeared to be a serious student well on the way to controlling what he called his "criminal urges". In some ways he appeared bewildered by the shock of incarceration

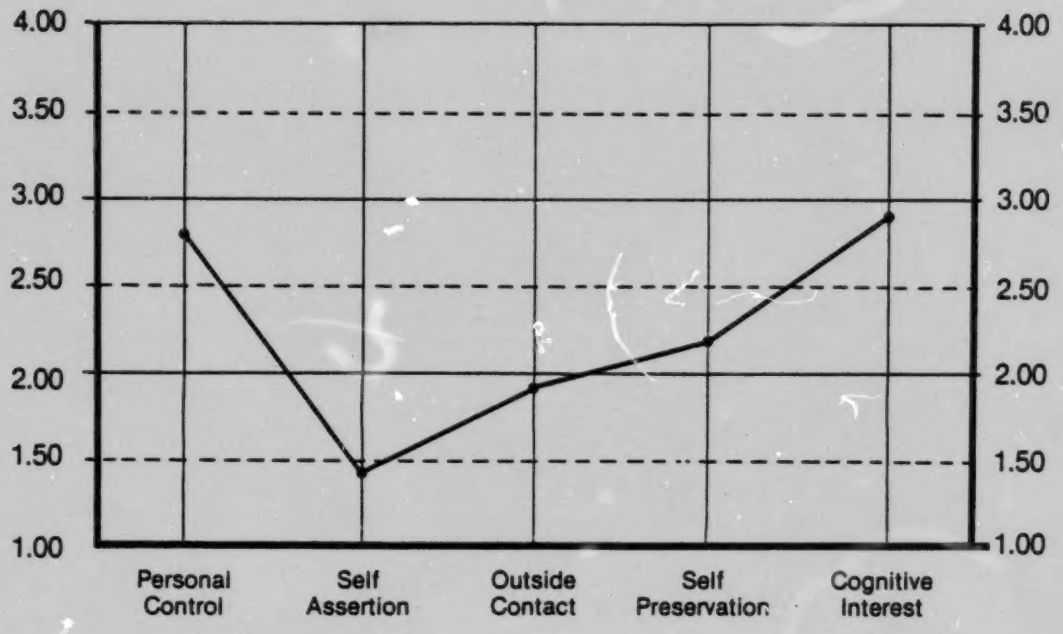

Figure 2. Mean PEPS scores for 102 inmates.

but had taken deliberate steps to get something out of "his time". He did not appear to be a "solid" part of the inmate sub-culture. His reasons for participating in the education programme were consistent with these perceptions; he was primarily motivated by the need for personal control and self preservation. Like Ben, Michael was happy to find the academic centre insulated fom the rest of the prison and, while attracted to the notion of making "learning" the conceptual centre of the penitentiary system, doubted the wisdom of moving the location of the school. Michael made good use of the micro-computers

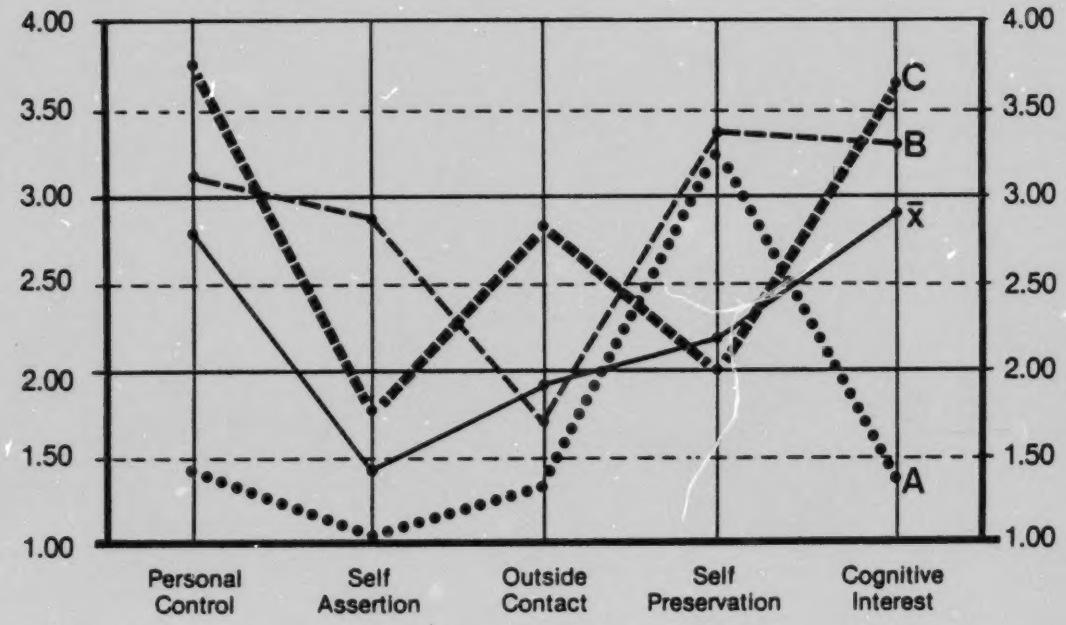

Figure 3. Motivational profiles for three inmates.

available at the penitentiary and appeared to have considerable interest in learning for its own sake.

Colin (Inmate C, Figure 3) hailed from a family described by local police as "notorious". Nearly all family members had been involved with the criminal justice system. Their problems appeared to be bound up with a penchant for alcohol and violence. Colin had already spent more than six years in a variety of provincial institutions and, at the time questionnaires were completed, was only 24 years of age. He was a stereotypical "young punk". His most recent sentence stemmed

from an incident where he and his friends had been drinking and were driving a car along a well known British Columbia highway. It was late, a lot of alcohol had been consumed. There was an argument and, in the ensuring incident, Colin hauled his companion from the car and gave him a savage beating. Colin believes in the death penalty, military spending, censorship, strict rules, gun control, royalty, church authority and conscription.

At the time he completed the PEPS Colin was beginning his first sentence in a federal institution. The judge had said he needed a "shock". He was very interested in this project and chatted in an animated fashion. Prior to his present sentence he primarily communicated with his fists. Although of small stature he packed a mighty punch and, as his file shows, was not averse to the use of weapons. Colin appeared to be impressed by the prison teachers who each day demonstrated that verbal communication was a satisfactory and enjoyable substitute for physical violence. His motivational profile was quite isomorphic with the impression he gave researchers associated with this project. He did not need education to become more self assertive; nor did he feel it was essential to his survival in the system. Rather, his primary motivation stemmed from a need for personal control and his interest in learning for its own sake (Cognitive Interest). Having spent many years in other correctional institutions he was also sensitive to the need to retain contact with the "outside". In some ways Colin was a "classic" candidate for prison education because, while

appearing to be a reasonable and affable human being, he had a dangerous penchant for violence that probably stemmed from the impact of inappropriate role models in his environment and the kind of cognitive deficts that the University of Victoria programme was designed to remedy. He had already spent much time in correctional institutions and will probably not respond to the usual penitentiary "programmes". If denied the opportunity to participate in education Colin will be a menace to himself and society. But despite his background, and the frustrations of being an inmate/student, he was clearly enrolled in his education programme because of a desire for personal control. Even the most cynical observers would have to agree that in this case, like others, this was an encouraging result.

The inmate profiles in Figure 3 were presented to show potential users how PEPS scale scores are formatted. This study was not designed to present inmate case histories; rather the central focus concerned quantitatively derived variables that predict orientation scores. Nevertheless in the three cases presented here the motivational profile was quite consistent with the researcher's observations of and knowledge concerning the inmate. Now that PEPS is developed, and available for future use, it would be useful to further validate the instrument by compiling case histories that would be similar too, but significantly more extensive, than those discussed above. Moreover, in future work it would be useful to examine relationships between scale scores. What is it that distinguishes Colin, who was primarily motivated by Personal

Control and Cognitive Interest, from Ben who was motivated by Self Preservation and little else? Studies of this nature would have to employ an analytic strategy that simultaneously considers relationships between scores on different dependent variables.

In the remainder of this report relationships between PEPS variables are largely ignored. Rather the emphasis is on variables that predict variance in Personal Control when considered as a separate dependent variable, Self Assertion as a separate dependent variable, and so on. Thus the pattern in the motivational profile was not considered. In this study it was the inmate's score on Personal Control, Self Assertion, Outside Contact, Self Preservation and Cognitive Interest that was of interest.

The following chapter describes relationships between various "background" variables and each of the scale scores. Later, there is a detailed examination of variables that explained variance in Personal Control scores. Although all the PEPS factors were of interest, Personal Control explained most of the variance in the PEPS correlation matrix and, in certain respects, was conceptually related to cognitive deficits.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SINGLE VARIABLE PREDICTORS OF PRISON EPS SCALE SCORES

Handling Nominal and Interval Data

From the outset it was deemed desirable to examine the multivariate foundations of motives for participation in prison education programmes. The procedures reported below were used to select variables for entry into regression equations used to explain variance in each PEPS score. Although some independent variables were measured for purposes other than those of this study, their relationship to each of the motivational orientations was calculated because of the need to proceed inductively and explore counter-intuitive hypotheses (see Boshier & Collins, 1982).

Where the independent variable was of an interval type it was correlated (Pearson product-moment) with each of the PEPS scores. The significance of the relationship was assessed by applying a two-tailed test. Although this made significance harder to attain it is appropriate when researchers are proceeding inductively rather than deductively. Relationships between nominal and PEPS scores were tested by doing one way analyses of variance. Data concerning conservatism, tatoos and alias use will later be used to explore other questions concerning crime and criminals. But, in this report, the focus is on relationships between independent variables and PEPS scores. Intercorrelations between independent variables (such as the relationship between drug use and height!) were not considered unless the interaction appeared to pertain to motives

for participation in prison education programmes.

The type of analysis used with nominal variables is shown in Table 9. Mean PEPS scores were calculated for each category within each variable. Thus, Matsqui inmates had the highest and Kent inmates the lowest Personal Control scores. The difference in the mean Personal Control scores for inmates in each of the institutions was significant ($F=2.55$, $p<.06$). This result was interesting but shows why great care is needed when interpreting results derived from bivariate relationships. At a superficial level it would appear that Kent inmates were less likely to be enrolled for Personal Control reasons than were those in other institutions. But Kent inmates have higher security-ratings than those elsewhere. It is this "third-variable" problem that creates a need to do multivariate analyses capable of separating joint from "partial" variable effects. Thus, it was probably not the institution per se, that accounted for differences in Personal Control scores.

There was no statistically significant difference in the mean scores of inmates in each of the institutions on any of the remaining factors. There was a slight though non-significant tendency for inmates in Kent and Matsqui (maximum and medium respectively) to be more inclined to be enrolled for Self Preservation than inmates in Mountain and William Head (medium and minimum respectively).

With regard to class levels, inmates in vocational and G.E.D. programmes were more inclined to be enrolled for Self Assertion ($F=4.92$, $p<.003$) than the 59 in the University of

Victoria programme. G.E.D. participants were the least likely and Vocational and University of Victoria enrollees the most likely ($F=3.50$, $p<.01$) to be enrolled for Cognitive Interest.

This table also shows inmates of "higher" occupational status to be more inclined to be enrolled for Self Preservation and Cognitive Interest than those with "low" status. Inmates with no "previous" involvement with drugs were less inclined to be enrolled for Personal Control than those with drug "involvement". But inmates with a history of violence ($F=2.75$, $p<.09$) who had spent time in the Regional Psychiatric Centre ($F=5.86$, $p<.01$), had been in protective custody ($F=4.81$, $p<.03$), or had a medical ailment noted in their file ($F=2.87$, $p<.09$) were all more inclined to be enrolled for Personal Control than those who did not possess these attributes. Also note that those with a relative's name noted in their file were more inclined to be enrolled for Personal Control ($F=6.95$, $p<.009$) and Self Assertion ($F=5.95$, $p<.01$).

Table 9 is presented here to show the type of analysis employed with nominal variables. Continuous or interval variables were analysed parametrically. The independent variables were of five types as follows:

1. Personal Characteristics/Background
2. Criminal Background
3. Present Offence/Sentence
4. Institutional History
5. Educational Background.

Table 9 is presented for illustrative purposes. It was not

TABLE 9

Correlates of Prison Education Participation Scale Scores

Variable			Personal Control		Self Assertion			Outside Contact			Self Preservation			Cognitive Interest		
	n	Mean	S.D.	Stat.	Mean	S.D.	Stat.	Mean	S.D.	Stat.	Mean	S.D.	Stat.	Mean	S.D.	Stat.
Institution																
William Head	26	34.11	11.14		9.61	4.16		13.80	5.26		13.38	5.31		14.57	4.41	
Mountain	25	37.92	9.05		10.16	4.91		16.28	4.87		15.48	4.61		13.72	3.87	
Matsqui	25	38.08	7.60		11.44	4.07		16.76	6.05		16.68	5.55		14.60	3.57	
Kent	26	32.34	7.72		10.07	3.89		15.23	4.83		16.15	4.75		15.07	4.61	
				F = 2.35 (p < .06)			F = 0.8 (ns)			F = 1.57 (ns)			F = 2.04 (ns)			F = 0.47 (ns)
Class Level																
Vocational	17	35.70	10.81		10.41	4.50		15.41	7.05		13.58	6.56		15.05	4.08	
G.E.D.	26	37.73	7.77		12.80	5.26		15.34	5.95		15.19	5.35		12.34	4.48	
U/Vic. prep.	12	36.75	10.41		8.66	2.49		16.16	4.21		17.16	4.87		14.83	3.63	
U. Victoria	4	34.02	9.02		9.31	3.33		15.44	4.60		15.74	4.59		15.40	3.70	
				F = 0.98 (ns)			F = 4.92 (p < .003)			F = 0.07 (ns)			F = 1.23 (ns)			F = 3.50 (p < .01)
Occupational Status																
Unskilled	36	36.33	9.41		10.88	4.48		15.44	6.45		14.75	5.59		13.50	4.40	
Skilled	41	35.12	8.96		10.21	4.68		15.75	4.91		15.90	4.72		14.92	3.69	
Clerical/Sales	16	37.56	9.89		10.56	3.54		15.87	4.42		16.93	5.42		15.12	4.47	
Managerial	4	29.25	10.81		9.50	2.08		17.25	1.89		16.50	5.44		19.00	1.41	
Professional	2	34.50	4.94		8.00	1.41		9.50	2.12		9.00	1.41		14.50	.70	
				F = 0.72 (ns)			F = 0.34 (ns)			F = 0.76 (ns)			F = 1.38 (ns)			F = 1.99 (ns)
Previous involvement with drugs																
No involvement	20	30.70	11.03		8.95	3.12		15.30	4.69		15.25	5.93		14.35	4.80	
Alcohol	40	36.97	8.73		10.97	4.75		14.87	5.68		14.72	4.84		14.07	4.20	
Soft drugs	20	38.45	7.07		10.05	3.92		16.80	5.39		16.65	5.19		14.15	3.89	
Hard drugs	22	34.86	8.74		10.59	4.47		15.63	5.25		15.66	5.31		15.72	3.45	
				F = 3.01 (p < .03)			F = 1.06 (ns)			F = 0.58 (ns)			F = 0.62 (ns)			F = 0.84 (ns)
History of Violence																
No violence	21	32.81	9.11		9.95	4.48		14.66	4.92		14.66	6.57		14.28	4.01	
Violence	81	36.33	9.13		10.40	4.23		15.71	5.42		15.60	4.82		14.55	4.16	
				F = 2.75 (p < .09)			F = 0.18 (ns)			F = 0.64 (ns)			F = 0.53 (ns)			F = 0.07 (ns)
Time in Regional Psychiatric Centre																
No	84	34.67	9.14		10.46	4.36		15.25	5.52		15.25	5.34		14.91	4.01	
Yes	13	41.15	7.65		8.84	2.23		17.15	3.50		15.53	4.59		12.61	3.86	
				F = 5.86 (p < .01)			F = 1.70 (ns)			F = 1.44 (ns)			F = 0.03 (ns)			F = 3.73 (ns)
Been in protective custody																
No	75	34.49	9.48		10.44	4.29		15.74	5.70		15.58	5.39		14.92	3.96	
Yes	21	39.47	8.01		10.33	4.65		15.19	4.47		15.90	4.80		12.95	4.43	
				F = 4.81 (p < .03)			F = 0.10 (ns)			F = 0.17 (ns)			F = 0.06 (ns)			F = 3.83 (p < .05)
Relative Noted on file																
No	15	30.00	10.75		7.93	2.84		15.20	5.83		14.80	6.16		13.33	4.79	
Yes	83	36.67	8.69		10.81	4.40		15.68	5.33		15.69	5.08		14.79	3.99	
				F = 6.95 (p < .009)			F = 5.95 (p < .01)			F = 0.10 (ns)			F = 0.37 (ns)			F = 1.60 (ns)
Medical Ailment																
None noted	73	34.60	8.87		10.53	4.49		15.20	5.55		15.41	5.37		14.36	4.22	
Ailment noted	24	38.25	9.92		9.58	3.51		16.41	4.49		15.83	4.92		14.95	3.82	
				F = 2.87 (p < .09)			F = 0.89 (ns)			F = 0.93 (ns)			F = 0.11 (ns)			F = 0.36 (ns)

deemed necessary to display data for each of the indeperdent variables in this way. Discussion following will be based on the presentation of correlation coefficients and F-ratios showing relationships between each of the variables (in the five "types") and PEPS scores. But, when necessary, reference is made to mean scores such as those in Table 9.

Personal Characteristics/Background

Personal Control

Table 10 shows relationships between inmate characteristics and scores on the PEPS Personal Control factor. After recalling that a two-tailed test was applied to test the significance of correlation coefficients, it can be seen that inmates "involved" with drugs were more inclined to be enrolled for Personal Control than those not involved. Table 10 also shows that inmates with a medical ailment or the name of a relative "noted" on their file had higher Personal Control scores than those with no ailment or relative.

The correlation between Personal Control and Conservatism ($r=.35$, $p<.001$) was significant and potentially of great significance. Having regard to the direction in which both variables were scored, this result shows that conservative inmates were more inclined to be enrolled for Personal Control than more liberal participants. From one perspective this result contributes to the construct validation of the PEPS. Wilson et al. (1973) and others have pointed out that, by definition, conservatism is a generalized susceptibility to experience threat or anxiety in the face of uncertainty.

"Control" or "conservatism" is the posture adopted to deal with stimulus uncertainty (e.g. complexity, novelty, ambiguity, anomie) and response uncertainty (e.g. freedom of choice, conflicting needs and desires). As "control" is a component of conservatism it is no surprise to find that enrolling in education for Personal Control is positively related to conservatism.

TABLE 10

Relationship Between Personal Characteristics/Background and Prison Education Participation Scale Scores

	I Personal Control		II Self Assertion		III Outside Contact		IV Self Preservation		V Cognitive Interest	
Characteristics/ background	r	F-Ratio	r	F-ratio	r	F-ratio	r	F-ratio	r	F-ratio
Age	.02	—	-.32 (p< .001)	—	.05	—	.03	—	.14	—
Height	.06	—	.08	—	.14	—	.13	—	.09	—
Weight	-.01	—	-.05	—	.01	—	-.00	—	.02	—
Eye colour	—	.08	—	.53	—	.55	—	.13	—	.15
No. tattoos	—	1.57	—	.03	—	.70	—	1.52	—	.22
Religious affiliation	—	.42	—	1.51	—	.49	—	.53	—	.76
Marital status	—	.30	—	2.16	—	1.33	—	.03	—	.14
Occupational status	-.02	—	.08	—	.00	—	.08	—	.24 (p< .01)	—
From "rough" home	—	.53	—	.02	—	.79	—	1.38	—	.28
Drug abuser	—	.39	—	.56	—	1.58	—	2.00	—	.004
From "criminal" family	—	.36	—	.01	—	.34	—	.26	—	.54
Broken or "rough" marriage	—	.17	—	5.10 (p< .02)	—	1.38	—	.01	—	.09
Extent of drug involvement	—	3.01 (p< .03)	—	1.06	—	.58	—	.62	—	.84
Medical ailment	—	2.87 (p< .09)	—	.89	—	.93	—	.11	—	.36
Relative noted	—	6.95 (p<.009)	—	5.95 (p< .01)	—	.10	—	.37	—	1.60
Conservatism	.35 (p< .001)	—	.08	—	.06	—	-.08	—	-.03	—

Self Assertion

Young inmates were significantly more inclined to be enrolled for Self Assertion reasons than were older participants

($r=-.32$, $p<.001$). This appears to be an extension of an a-priori assumption held by many prison authorities which leads them to assert that the "young punks" are more assertive (i.e. troublesome--in the administrative sense) than older inmates. Those who have experienced a "rough" or broken marriage and those with a relative "noted" were also more inclined to be enrolled for Self Assertion than inmates with no relative noted and no broken marriage.

Outside Contact

There were no statistically significant relationships between inmate characteristics and enrolling for Outside Contact. There was a slight, though non-significant tendency for inmates with a history of drug abuse and those with a "rough" or broken marriage to be more inclined to enrol for Outside Contact than those not possessing these characteristics.

Self Preservation

Inmates with a history of drug abuse were slightly more inclined to enrol for Self Preservation than non-abusers. Otherwise enrolling for Self Preservation was not significantly related to any of the inmate characteristics.

Cognitive Interest

Inmates with the "highest" occupational status were significantly more inclined to enrol for Cognitive Interest ($r=.24$, $p<.01$) than those of lower status. This result replicates the relationship usually found in motivational orientation studies of non-inmate populations. Participants of

lower socio-economic status usually enrol for instrumental or "deficiency-motivated" reasons (see Boshier, 1977); enrolling for Cognitive Interest (learning for its own sake) appears to be a luxury largely enjoyed by persons from the upper-socio-economic groups. However, in this study the result must be interpreted with caution because, of the 102 inmates, only six had occupations deemed to be "managerial/administrative" or "professional/technical". Indeed, of the 102 participants, 36 had occupations coded as "unskilled", and 41 as "skilled".

There were no other significant relationships between inmate characteristics and enrolling for Cognitive Interest.

Criminal Background

Personal Control

The construct validity of the Personal Control factor is further enhanced by the fact inmates with a history of violence had significantly higher scores on this factor ($F=2.75$, $p<.09$) than those with no history of violence. There was also a slight though non-significant tendency for alias use to be associated with Personal Control scores. It was salutary to note that the number of "present offences" was not related to scores on Personal Control (Table 11).

Self Assertion

Despite a tendency for the most violent inmates to have higher Self Assertion scores than more placid participants, there were no significant associations between "criminal background" and enrolling for Self Assertion reasons.

TABLE 11

Relationship Between Inmate's Criminal Background and Scores on the Prison Education Participation Scale

	I Personal Control		II Self Assertion		III Outside Contact		IV Self Preservation		V Cognitive Interest	
Criminal Background	r	F-ratio	r	F-ratio	r	F-ratio	r	F-ratio	r	F-ratio
No. aliases	—	2.26	—	.02	—	1.68	—	1.47	—	2.47
History of violence	—	2.75 ($p < .09$)	—	.18	—	.64	—	.33	—	.07
Extent of violence	.13	—	-.04	—	.04	—	.10	—	.07	—
Results of violence	—	1.58	—	2.34	—	.49	—	.26	—	.12
Violence with weapons	—	.92	—	.11	—	.42	—	.89	—	.53
Previous non-penitentiary convictions	—	.46	.03	—	—	1.80	—	1.85	—	1.30
No. of past offences	.06	—	-.01	—	-.00	—	-.00	—	.09	—

Outside Contact

There were no significant relationships between "criminal background" variables and enrolling for Outside Contact.

Self Preservation

There were no significant relationships between "criminal background" variables and enrolling for Self Preservation.

Cognitive Interest

Inmates with aliases had a mean Cognitive Interest score of 15.53 whereas those with no alias noted on the file had a mean of 14.10. But this relationship, like the others, was non-significant.

Present Offence/Sentence

Table 12 shows relationships between variables related to the inmate's present offence and sentence and PEPS scores. The absence of relationships was of great significance. Note that none of the PEPS scores were significantly related to the length of the participant's sentence, the anticipated date of release (as indicated by the mandatory supervision and warrant expiry dates) or the severity of the present offence. In other words, reasons for enrolling were largely unrelated to the nature of the participant's offence and the type of sentence imposed.

TABLE 12

Relationship Between Inmate's Present Offence/Sentence and Scores on the Prison Education Participation Scale

	I Personal Control		II Self Assertion		III Outside Contact		IV Self Preservation		V Cognitive Interest	
Present Offence/ Sentence	r	F-ratio	r	F-ratio	r	F-ratio	r	F-ratio	r	F-ratio
Date of most recent sentence	.05	—	.13	—	.08	—	.13	—	.08	—
Place of arrest	—	.61	—	.18	—	1.94	—	1.07	—	1.37
Type of offence	—	.58	—	.79	—	.60	—	.28	—	.96
No. of present offences	.08	—	.15	—	-.03	—	.03	—	-.08	—
Severity of present offence	.00	—	-.06	—	.03	—	.09	—	.12	—
Length of sentence in days	-.10	—	-.14	—	.03	—	-.02	—	.05	—
Warrant expiry date	.03	—	.13	—	-.07	—	-.08	—	.04	—
Mandatory supervision date	.07	—	.15	—	-.08	—	-.07	—	.01	—

Institutional History

Relationships between the "institutional history" of participants and their reasons for enrolling in education programmes are shown in Table 13.

Personal Control

Care must be exercised when interpreting the positive relationship (r=.16) between the "dominant direction of transfers" and enrolling for Personal Control. The cascading policy has created a situation where inmates are often moved from prison to prison. In general, inmates move downward, from more to less security. But, because of infractions and overcrowding, inmates do not always move to less secure institutions. For this study inmates whose "dominant" direction was from less to more secure institutions were coded 1; where no direction was "dominant" the code was 2; where the inmate was generally transferred to less secure institutions the code was 3. Thus the positive correlation between "dominant direction" and Factor I shows that inmates with the highest Personal Control scores tended to have a history of transfers that took them from more to less secure environments.

The construct validity of Personal Control was enhanced by the fact inmates who had spent time in the Regional Psychiatric Centre ($F=5.86$, $p<.01$) or in protective custody ($F=4.81$, $p<.03$) had higher scores on this factor than those without these experiences. Inmates who had attempted suicide also had higher Personal Control scores than those whose file had no record of a suicide attempt. Although the relationship was not statistically significant, when considered in conjunction with the other results, it buttresses the construct validity of the Personal Control factor.

Self Assertion

There were no statistically significant relationships

TABLE 13

Relationship Between Inmate's Institutional History and Scores on the Prison Education Participation Scale

	I Personal Control		II Self Assertion		III Outside Contact		IV Self Preservation		V Cognitive Interest	
Institutional History	r	F-ratio	r	F-ratio	r	F-ratio	r	F-ratio	r	F-ratio
Security rating	-.06	—	.04	—	.10	—	.16 (p<.10)	—	.16 (p<.10)	—
No. transfers in present sentence	.01	—	-.11	—	.14	—	.11	—	-.01	—
Dominant direction of the transfers	.16 (p<.10)	—	.03	—	.01	—	.01	—	-.01	—
No. months in inst. prior to present one	-.04	—	-.01	—	.13	—	.13	—	-.10	—
Av. months in insts. listed	-.04	—	-.13	—	.10	—	.11	—	-.04	—
Time spent in Reg. Psychiatric Centre	—	5.86 (p<.01)	—	—	—	1.44	—	.03	—	3.73 (p<.05)
Previous non-penitentiary convic.	—	.46	—	.03	—	1.80	—	1.85	—	1.30
Been in protective custody	—	4.81 (p<.03)	—	.01	—	.17	—	.06	—	3.83 (p<.05)
History of escape	—	.44	—	.16	—	.03	—	.16	—	.60
Involvement in sit-down	—	.01	—	.55	—	2.17	—	3.46 (p<.06)	—	.37
No. suicide attempts	.13	—	-.04	—	.01	—	.07	—	.01	—

between "institutional history" variables and enrolling for Self Assertion.

Outside Contact

There were no statistically significant relationships between "institutional history" variables and enrolling for Outside Contact.

Self Preservation

Inmates with the highest security ratings were more inclined ($r=.16$, $.05<p<.10$) to be enrolled for Self Preservation

than those with lower ratings. As inmates with higher S-ratings are more inclined to participate in rebellious behaviour it is no surprise to note that those with a history of involvement in "sit-downs" had significantly higher Self Preservation scores than those whose files contained no evidence of "sit-down" behaviour.

Cognitive Interest

Inmates with the highest security ratings (denoting a need for maximum security) were more inclined to be enrolled for Cognitive Interest than those with lower ratings ($r=.16$, $.05<p<.10$). But as S-rating is probably correlated with sentence length this result should be interpreted with caution. Inmates who had spent time in the Regional Psychiatric Centre had mean scores of 12.61 whereas the mean for the 84 who had not been to R.P.C. was 14.91. Thus those treated at R.P.C. were less inclined to be enrolled for Cognitive Interest than the other inmates ($F=3.73$, $p<.05$). The same trend was evident for those who had or had not been in protective custody; the 21 who had been in protective custody were less inclined to be enrolled for Cognitive Interest than the other inmates.

Educational Background

Personal Control

Inmates who had done the greatest number of University of Victoria courses had significantly lower Personal Control scores than those not in or just beginning their educational programme ($r=-.20$, $p<.03$) (Table 14). Superficially, it might appear that

inmates who had taken numerous university courses now have their lives under "control" and continue to participate for reasons other than the need to obtain "personal control". Prison authorities would be encouraged if this was the case. But, while the present data are suggestive, correlation does not denote causality. It would be better to employ a quasi-experimental design where a cohort of inmates are "followed" (and subject to repeated measures) than to get too much satisfaction from results derived in ex post facto studies.

Self Assertion

The same observation applies to the significant relationships between "educational background" and the Self Assertion orientation. Inmates enrolled in the "lower" levels (vocational, G.E.D.) were significantly more inclined to be enrolled for Self Assertion reasons than those in the "upper" (largely university) classes ($r=-.22$, $p<.02$). Moreover, inmates who had "recently" completed the most courses were significantly less inclined to be enrolled for Self Assertion than those who had completed few courses ($r=-.20$, $p<.04$). The relationship was clear when examining the impact of "total" courses (over any time period) completed, on Self Assertion scores. The negative correlation ($r=-.23$, $p<.01$) shows that those who had completed the most courses were significantly less likely to be enrolled for Self Assertion than those with few courses completed.

Outside Contact

Inmates with the "highest" levels of education when they began their present sentence were more inclined to be motivated by Outside Contact than those with less education ($r=.17$, $.05<p<.08$).

Participants with a history of involvement in adult basic education (e.g. literacy) courses had slightly higher Outside Contact scores ($r=.15$, $.05<p<.10$) than those with little or no involvement in A.B.E.

Self Preservation

Inmates with the highest educational levels at the start of their sentences tended to be more incined to enrol for Self Preservation ($r=.26$, $p<.007$) than those with lower levels of education. Inmates in the university classes were more inclined to be there for Self Preservation than those in other types of class ($F=2.41$, $p<.02$). As noted earlier, many inmates appreciated the fact that in some institutions (particularly Matsqui) the academic centre is largely insulated from the rest of the prison population and environment. The "self preservation" that can be derived from this might be beneficial since enrolling for Self Preservation was correlated with the number of courses "recently" completed ($r=.17$, $p<.07$) and the number of University of Victoria courses completed ($r=.20$, $p<.03$).

Cognitive Interest

Table 14 also shows that educational level at the start of the sentence was significantly associated with enrolling for

Cognitive Interest (r=.38, p<.001). This replicates a result commonly found with non-inmate populations and suggests that previous education engenders a willingness to learn for largely non-instrumental reasons--for the sake of it. Those with the highest Cognitive Interest scores were found in the Political Science and Electrical classes; those with the lowest scores were in the G.E.D. classes. The differences in their scores were significant (F=2.44, p<.01).

TABLE 14

Relationship Between Inmate's Educational Background and Scores on the Prison Education Participation Scale

	I Personal Control		II Self Assertion		III Outside Contact		IV Self Preservation		V Cognitive Interest	
Educational Background	r	F-ratio	r	F-ratio	r	F-ratio	r	F-ratio	r	F-ratio
Educ. level at start of sent.	-.04	—	.03	—	.17 (p<.08)	—	.26 (p<.007)	—	.38 (p<.001)	—
Type class enrol in	—	.93	—	3.25 (p<.002)	—	1.06	—	2.41 (p<.02)	—	2.44 (p<.01)
Class level	-.12	—	-.22 (p<.02)	—	.00	—	.13	—	.16 (p<.10)	—
No. courses compl. recently	.02	—	-.20 (p<.04)	—	.02	—	.17 (p<.07)	—	.09	—
No. "prior" courses completed	-.12	—	-.14	—	.01	—	.07	—	.09	—
No. U.Vic. courses noted	-.20 (p<.03)	—	-.17 (p<.08)	—	-.02	—	.20 (p<.03)	—	.15	—
No. vocational courses noted	.06	—	-.14	—	.07	—	-.09	—	.06	—
No. basic educ. courses noted	.11	—	.15	—	.15 (p<.10)	—	-.00	—	-.03	—
Total no. courses noted	-.08	—	-.23 (p<.01)	—	.01	—	.13	—	.11	—
Likelihood of cont. in present inst.	.07	—	-.05	—	.14	—	.07	—	-.00	—
Likelihood of cont. if transferred	.00	—	-.03	—	-.04	—	-.00	—	.00	—
Likelihood of cont. if released	.01	—	-.10	—	.01	—	.02	—	.18 (p<.06)	—
Total "likelihood" continuing score	.00	—	-.06	—	.00	—	.04	—	.06	—

The positive correlation between Cognitive Interest and the likelihood of continuing (one's education) after release

suggests that an inmate's desire to learn for its own sake while in prison is associated with a desire to continue his education upon release. However, note the absence of any relationship between scores on this factor (and any others) and the "likelihood" of continuing if the inmate continues to be held in his present institution, or is transferred elsewhere.

Overview

Mandatory Supervision/Type of Offence

It is worth noting that variables which, from some perspectives, ought to be related to motives for participation in prison education programmes failed to manifest any significant relationship. For example, the inmate's mandatory supervision (release) date, although weakly correlated with Cognitive Interest (r=.15), had little to do with reasons for participation. Inmates with distant release dates were slightly more inclined to be enrolled for Outside Contact, Self Preservation and Cognitive Interest than those whose release was imminent. But, the relationships were small and insignificant.

A similar observation applies to type of offence. Mean PEPS scores for each offence type are shown in Table 15.

Although there was a slight tendency for sex offenders to have Personal Control scores higher than the mean, the differences between these scores were insignificant (F=0.58). The same applies to Self Assertion scores. Although those imprisoned for crimes aginst property had slightly higher scores than inmates incarcerated for offences against-the-person, the relationship was insignificant (F=0.79). With respect to

TABLE 15

Relationship Between Prison Participation Scale Scores and Type of Offence

		I Personal Control		II Self Assertion		III Outside Contact		IV Self Preservation		V Cognitive Interest	
Type of Offence	n	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Against the Person											
Non-drug related	23	34.91	11.98	9.69	3.78	15.52	6.30	15.13	5.93	15.00	4.97
Drug-related	18	35.33	8.00	10.00	3.89	15.94	5.35	16.33	6.06	15.27	3.87
Sex-related	25	37.52	9.28	9.88	4.95	13.68	5.06	15.64	4.47	13.84	3.57
Against Property Relationship Implied	20	36.60	7.73	10.85	3.82	14.70	5.48	15.15	5.02	14.25	4.14
No Relationship	12	32.33	7.98	12.41	5.21	17.08	4.07	15.91	4.92	15.50	3.65
Against good order											
Societal order	0	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———
Community order	1	38.00	———	10.00	———	9.00	———	11.00	———	8.00	———
Total	99*	35.70	9.26	10.36	4.30	15.39	5.36	15.53	5.21	14.59	4.11

*Type of offence data was not available for three inmates.

Outside Contact (F=0.63), Self Preservation (F=0.28) and Cognitive Interest (F=0.96) the situation was the same; type of offence had little to do with motives for participation in prison education programmes.

The variables most strongly associated with enrolling for Personal Control were conservatism, extent of involvement with drugs, having a relative noted and spending time in protective custody and/or the Regional Psychiatric Centre. The fact these variables were all strongly associated with this factor attests to its construct validity. In short, inmates who need to achieve psychological control were inclined to enrol for Personal Control. Of all the variables correlated with PEPS scores, conservatism (r=.35) was more strongly associated with Personal Control than any other interval variable associated

with this or any other factor.

The variables most strongly associated with Self Assertion were age, having a relative noted, and having a rough marriage. In addition, Self Assertion was negatively correlated with several of the educational background variables. Thus inmates with the highest Self Assertion scores had completed fewer courses and were in "lower" classes than those with lower Self Assertion scores. It appeared that as inmates complete more courses there was a lessening of "assertion" motivation. But without a longitudinal study wherein a cohort of inmates are followed over a period of time (and courses) little weight should be attached to this interpretation of correlations.

Outside Contact scores were significantly associated with the inmate's educational level at the start of his sentence and little else. This does not diminish the importance of the Outside Contact factor; indeed many inmates greatly value the "contact" to the outside achieved through interacting with teachers, resource people, counsellors, researchers and devices such as films, videotapes and micro-computers. But, in general, the fact independent variables used here failed to predict the likelihood of enrolling for Outside Contact was noteworthy. Educational variables were better predictors of Self Preservation scores than were personal, criminal background, present offence/sentence, or institutional history variables. Thus inmates with the highest educational levels at the start of their sentence and those in University of Victoria courses were more inclined to be enrolled for Self Preservation than those

with lower levels or in other than university courses.

With regard to Cognitive Interest, occupational status, educational level at the start of the sentence and the type of class (currently enrolled in) were the most powerful predictors.

Type of Class

One of the most consistent and significant predictors of motivational orientation was the "type" of class the inmates were enrolled in. Table 16 shows the mean PEPS scores for inmates in each of the nine classes studied. Although the small n in some classes jeopardized the one way analyses of variance there were significant differences between mean scores obtained by inmates in different types of classes. With regard to Personal Control, G.E.D. students obtained a score of 37.25, inmates in vocational classes a score of 36.87, those in the University of Victoria preparatory classes a score of 37.88 and respondents in the University of Victoria programme a mean of 34.01. None of these students have been followed (from G.E.D. to university) so it cannot be said that enrolling for Personal Control diminishes as educational levels improve. Yet it is clear that those in the "upper" levels are slightly less inclined to be in classes for Personal Control reasons than those in the lower classes. The pattern is clearer with regard to Self Assertion. On this factor G.E.D. students attained a score of 12.53, vocational students a score of 11.48, University of Victoria preparatory students a score of 8.00 and University of Victoria students a mean score of 9.72. The University students were significantly less inclined to be enrolled for

Self Assertion than were those in G.E.D. or vocational classes ($F=3.25$, $p<.001$). If longitudinal research shows that education has a "pacifying" effect the result would surely be of interest to prison officials and politicians. With regard to Outside Contact, G.E.D. students had a mean score of 15.39, Vocational students a mean score of 16.22, University of Victoria preparatory students a score of 14.66 and those in the University of Victoria programme a score of 15.09. The difference between these means was not significant ($F=1.06$). With regard to Self Preservation, G.E.D. students had a mean score of 14.89, Vocational students a mean of 11.58, University of Victoria preparatory students a mean of 16.33 and University of Victoria students a mean of 16.23. Taken together, the university students ($X=16.28$) were significantly ($F=2.41$, $p<.02$) more inclined to be enrolled for Self Preservation. In this regard, casual observation suggests that at Matsqui in particular, the separation of the academic centre from the general prison environment is welcomed and reinforced by the university student inmates. Although this separation runs counter to the assumptions and recommendations of the OISE (1979) report, it appears that the university program shields inmates from "criminals" in the general population.

On the Cognitive Interest factor G.E.D. students obtained a mean score of 12.46, Vocational students a mean score of 15.92, University of Victoria preparatory students a score of 14.55 and University of Victoria students a score of 15.92.

TABLE 16

Prison Education Participation Scale Scores for 102 Inmates enrolled in Nine Types of Class

		Personal Control		Self Assertion		Outside Contact		Self Preservation		Cognitive Interest	
Type of Class	n	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
G.E.D.	28	37.25	7.85	12.53	5.16	15.39	5.73	14.89	5.27	12.46	4.40
Vocational											
Electrical	3	40.00	8.66	15.00	7.00	18.00	7.21	18.33	2.88	19.00	1.00
Graphic Arts	6	40.33	8.38	11.83	2.99	18.66	7.84	17.66	5.98	15.66	2.58
Blueprint reading	8	30.62	11.83	7.62	2.50	12.00	5.45	8.75	4.46	13.12	4.67
University Victoria											
Preparatory	9	37.88	10.77	8.00	1.11	14.66	3.20	16.33	4.24	14.33	3.67
English	26	34.11	9.62	9.00	2.75	16.69	5.06	15.88	5.07	15.26	4.17
Psychology	7	32.85	12.06	8.28	1.79	14.28	4.53	16.14	3.76	15.85	2.67
Political Science	5	34.20	6.34	11.20	6.57	14.40	3.78	15.60	3.57	18.20	2.16
Creative Writing	10	34.90	7.50	10.40	3.89	15.00	4.80	17.30	5.37	14.40	3.27
Total	102	35.56	9.21	10.31	4.26	15.50	5.32	15.41	5.20	14.50	4.11

CHAPTER NINE

MULTIVARIATE PREDICTORS OF PRISON EPS SCALE SCORES

Introduction

Relationships between each of the independent and each of the PEPS variables were discussed above. There was much in the bivariate analyses that was of theoretical and practical significance. But examination of correlation matrices showed that many of the independent variables were inter-correlated. Thus, if an inmate had spent time in the Regional Psychiatric Centre there was a better chance that he had also resided in protective custody than if he had never been in the R.P.C. Thus, some of the "separate" relationships discussed above are confounded by inter-correlations between variables. This situation was not ususual. Indeed, it buttresses arguments concerning the need to do multi- rather than bivariate analyses. Few phenomena stem from the influence of one variable. Most human behaviour stems from interactions of variables. Multivariate analyses are used to disentangle these interactions and show the extent to which variance in a dependent variable stems from the "partial" or "joint" effect of independent variables.

Of the independent variables, 27 were entered into regression equations designed to predict variance in PEPS scores. The decision to retain or discard a variable for this part of the analysis was based upon:

1. Its simple correlation with each of the PEPS scores
2. Its theoretical significance

3. Its relationship to other independent variables
4. Its apparent "importance" to inmates and prison administrators
5. A desire to eliminate redundant predictors
6. Whether or not it was an interval variable.

Because of the well-known third-variable problem (see Neale and Liebert, 1973), some variables that the previous analysis had shown were unrelated to PEPS scores were deemed eligible for entry into the regression equations. If a variable was significantly correlated with PEPS scores it was entered, unless it was "redundant". Some variables, such as height and medical ailment were entered because of their potential contribution to theory. If a variable was strongly related to other variables in the data set it was not entered. Thus, of mandatory supervision and warrant expiry dates only mandatory supervision was entered since one was a redundant predictor of the other. Moreover, when the mandatory supervision date arrives most inmates are released. It need hardly be noted that this is an extremely important variable to inmates, prison administrators and researchers.

Most of the educational variables were not entered into the regression equation as they were deemed to be consequents, not antecedents of PEPS scores. In future work it will be interesting to treat some educational characteristics as dependent variables in regression equations, but, in the present study, they were largely redundant predictors of each other.

The following variables were entered into each of the five regression equations used to explain variance in PEPS scores:

Personal Characteristics

-Age
-Height
-Occupational status
-Criminal family
-Broken marriage
-Medical Ailment
-Previous involvement with drugs?
-Relative noted
-Conservatism

Criminal Background

-Number of aliases
-History of violence
-Number of past offences

Present Offence/Sentence

-Date of most recent sentence
-Number of present offences
-Number of past offences
-Severity of the present offence
-Length of sentence
-Mandatory supervision date

Institutional History

-Current security rating
-Number of transfers in present sentence
-Dominant direction of transfers
-Average months in previous institutions
-Time in Regional Psychiatric Centre?
-Time in protective custody?
-Number of suicide attempts

Educational Background

-Class level

Any of these variables could enter the equation generated to explain each of the PEPS scores. But for an independent variable to enter the equation it had to explain at least one percent of the variance. This cut-off criterion was also used to keep the equations as parsimonious as possible. Nine

variables entered the first equation and explained 27 percent of the variance in Personal Control; five variables explained 21 percent of the Self Assertion variance; ten entered the Outside Contact equation for a multiple r of .38; ten variables explained 11 percent of the variance in Self Preservation while eight variables entered the Cognitive Interest equation for a multiple r of .46 (22 percent of variance explained). In the section following each of the equations is explained.

Regression Equations Predicting PEPS Scores

I. Personal Control

Table 17 shows variables that entered the Personal Control equation. At the cut-off point (after number of past offences) none of the 17 remaining variables awaiting entry into the equation had partial r's greater than .07. Had a more liberal criterion been adopted the next variables to enter would have been class level, dominant direction of transfers, previous involvement with drugs, and age. Note the absence of mandatory supervision date from the equation.

The 102 inmates had a mean Conservatism score of 33.90. They had been convicted of 8.90 offences prior to the one for which they were serving time when this study was carried out. It is important to remember that this table shows how variable clusters and interactions were associated with Personal Control scores. Although variables such as date of the most recent sentence and number of transfers were largely unrelated to Personal Control (when separate relationships were examined),

TABLE 17

Multivariate Predictors of Prison Education Participation Scale
Personal Control Scores

Variable	X	S.D.	Multiple r	Simple r	Beta (final)	F-ratio (at entry)
Conservatism	33.90	13.00	.36	.36	.35	14.87
Relative Noted	1.17	.50	.40	.21	.40	9.72
No. Aliases	.27	.44	.44	.14	.23	7.70
Time in RPC	1.07	.41	.47	.18	.18	6.77
Date most recent sentence (i.e. 1976)	76.36	14.98	.48	.05	-.21	5.93
No. transfers in present sentence	1.94	2.35	.49	.01	.16	5.27
Rough marriage ?	1.28	.56	.50	.12	-.13	4.66
History of violence	.79	.40	.51	.16	.10	4.22
No. past offences	8.90	9.91	.52	.06	-.06	3.79

when combined with other variables in the equation, have significant and important effects. Thus, having regard to the coding system and the sign in front of each beta weight this table shows that inmates with the highest Personal Control scores were more inclined than those with low (Personal Control) scores to be conservative, to have a relative noted, to have an alias, spent time in the Regional Psychiatric Centre, to have been sentenced "long ago", to have had numerous transfers, no "rough" marriage, a history of violence and fewer previous offences than those not "motivated" by Personal Control. The beta weights show the magnitude of the contribution made by each variable to the equation; they show the "separate" effects of the variable. Thus, it can be seen that the most powerful single contributions to the equation were having a relative

noted on the file (beta=.40), conservatism scores (beta=.35) number of aliases (beta=.23) followed by the date of the most recent sentence (beta=-.21).

Conservative inmates, who have an alias, have been in the Regional Psychiatric Centre (presumably receiving psychiatric help) and have a history of violence, were more inclined to enrol for Personal Control reasons than those who did not possess these attributes. Certainly, this relationship confirms casual observations made by inmates and prison teachers; moreover, prison authorities and proponents of the educational model should be encouraged by it. High scorers on this factor were violent and fascistic. It was encouraging to find that in the participant group those who needed to control their behaviour the most, enrolled in education for Personal Control reasons.

II. Self Assertion

Table 18 shows the configuration of variables most closely associated with Self Assertion scores. Inmates with the highest Self Assertion PEPS scores were younger, more inclined to have a relative noted, enrolled in "lower" classes (e.g. G.E.D.), had no medical ailment and more "present" offences than those with lower Self Assertion scores. The most powerful single effect was having (or not having) a relative noted on the file. Most relatives were friends, relations or spouses. They presumably represent a link to the outside and were probably prominent features of the prisoner's life-space. Having a relative noted on the file, when "working" jointly with other variables was an

important predictor of enrolling for Self Assertion. Those with relatives noted presumably feel they have links with the outside and are perhaps more motivated to improve their educational standing. The fact "relative noted" was also a prominent and significant predictor of Outside Contact supports this notion. Those with a "significant other" on the outside may resist and react to the incarceration process more intensely than those whose world outside contains few, if any, significant others.

TABLE 18

Multivariate Predictors of Prison Education Participation Scale Self Assertion Scores

Variable	X	S.D.	Multiple r	Simple r	Beta (final)	F-ratio
Age	30.32	9.77	.32	-.32	-.20	12.10
Relative Noted ?	1.77	.50	.37	.22	.28	7.88
Class Level	2.87	1.17	.41	-.22	-.22	6.97
Medical Ailment	1.18	.50	.44	-.08	-.15	5.88
No. Present Offences	2.93	3.79	.46	.15	.13	5.23

It has to be realized that in this equation "relative noted" is joined to the other variables. The fact inmates incarcerated for numerous offences have a relative noted, and these factors, coupled with others, impel them to enrol in education for Self Assertion reasons, is encouraging. First, it partly explains why assertive inmates want to "frustrate the guards", "screw the system", and "avoid cooperating with prison authorities". But the fact their rebellious feelings and anger has impelled them into education should be interpreted positively by prison authorities because there is good evidence

to suggest that education has a calming effect on angry inmates.

With regard to Self Assertion, it is also pertinent to note "class level" as one of the variables in the equation. Table 16 showed that those in Vocational classes had a mean Self Assertion score of 10.41; those in GED classes a mean of 12.80, while inmates in University of Victoria preparation ($\bar{X}$=8.66) and University of Victoria classes ($\bar{X}$=9.31) had significantly ($p<.003$) lower scores. While it is necessary to heed earlier warnings about the need for longitudinal research it is pertinent to speculate here about the relationship between Self Assertion and continued participation in education programmes. It may be that those in GED and vocational programmes were less intelligent than inmates in the "higher" levels and that Self Assertion was negatively correlated with intelligence. But many of those in "preparation" and University of Victoria programmes had, in earlier years, been in GED and vocational programmes. Thus, it is possible that those in the "higher" courses were less Self Assertive because their history of participation had satisfied needs for "assertion". Moreover, as Michael noted, motivation changes as a function of time served and courses taken. In his view the change is from "pure self interest" to motives with more socially acceptable "ramifications". However, despite these speculations, note that the separate effect of class level was less than that of "relative noted".

Had a more liberal criterion for entry been adopted the next variables into the Self Assertion equation would have been rough marriage, broken home, history of violence, number of past

offences. But after step five (number of present offences) none of the remaining variables had a partial r greater than .08).

III. Outside Contact

Ten variables generated a multiple r of .38 for Outside Contact scores. The amount of variance explained on this and Self Preservation was generally lower than for the other three factors. Table 19 shows the variables, their simple r's and beta weights.

TABLE 19
Multivariate Predictors of Prison Education Participation Scale
Outside Contact Scores

Variable	X	S.D.	Multiple r r	Simple r r	Beta (final)	F-ratio
No. transfers in present sentence	1.94	2.35	.14	.14	.35	2.24
No aliases	.27	.44	.19	.12	.19	2.04
Relative noted?	1.77	.50	.23	.09	.35	1.91
Rough marriage?	1.28	.56	.27	-.01	-.25	2.05
Time in RPC?	1.07	.41	.31	.09	.14	2.13
Conservatism	33.90	13.00	.33	.06	.16	2.05
Time in protective custody	1.14	.49	.35	.02	-.14	1.85
No. past offenses	8.90	9.91	.36	-.00	-.11	1.79
Age	30.32	9.77	.37	.05	.09	1.67
No. present offences	2.93	3.79	.38	-.03	-.08	1.57

The most powerful separate effects stemmed from the number of transfers and having a relative noted. In some respects the variables in the table buttress the construct validation of this factor. Inmates with a relative noted must successfully initiate more transfer requests (which are granted) than those without a relative's name in the file. In view of the fact

adults are purported to be problem-oriented (see Knowles, 1980) and enrol in education for reasons consistent with their life-space (see Boshier & Peters, 1976) it is no surprise to find inmates with numerous transfers enrolled for Outside Contact. The fact they have not experienced a rough marriage suggests that their "outside contact" is with a person who supports and reinforces them. Moreover, as well as having a relative and no rough marriage, high scorers on the Outside Contact factor were less inclined to have been in protective custody than low scorers.

But in view of the fact the configuration of variables in Table 19 explained only about fourteen percent of the variance in Outside Contact scores their effects should not be exaggerated. Had a more liberal criterion for entry been adopted the next variables to enter would have been current S-rating, severity of present offence and history of violence. But after Step 10 (number of present offences), none of the remaining variables had a partial r greater than .07.

IV. Self Preservation

The ten variables listed in Table 20 generated a multiple r of .34 for Self Preservation scores. Although the combination of variables shown explained only thirteen percent of the variance in Self Preservation scores, the meaning of this equation was reasonably clear and partially validated that previously ascribed to the factor. Inmates with the highest Self Preservation scores had a higher S (security)-rating, more aliases, an "earlier" mandatory supervision (i.e. release)

date, and a shorter sentence than those with lower scores on this factor. They are also more inclined to have a relative noted, to have spent more than an average number of months in "previous" institutions and to have a "higher" occupational status than those with low Self Preservation scores.

TABLE 20

Multivariate Predictors of Prison Education Participation Scale Self Preservation Scores

Variable	X	S.D.	Multiple r	Simple r	Beta (final)	F-ratio
Current security rating	4.24	1.37	.16	.16	.13	2.67
Time in protective custody	1.14	.49	.19	.13	.15	2.00
No. aliases	.27	.44	.22	.12	.16	1.81
Rough home	1.44	.65	.25	-.02	-.13	1.70
Average months in institutions listed	14.09	15.79	.27	.11	.20	1.52
Relative noted?	1.77	.50	.29	.14	.09	1.52
Sentence length	2738.49	2165.74	.30	-.02	-.16	1.42
No. of past offences	8.90	9.91	.32	.03	-.12	1.37
Time in Regional Psych. Centre	1.07	.41	.33	-.04	-.09	1.28
Occupational status	1.88	.97	.34	.08	.07	1.20

The ten variables shown in Table 20 entered the equation explaining Self Preservation scores. Although explaining only twelve percent of the variance this configuration of variables sheds light on the construct validity of Self Preservation. Inmates most inclined to be enrolled for Self Preservation had "high" S-ratings, had spent time in protective custody, had numberous aliases, had, on average, spent a higher number of months in other institutions, were more inclined to have a

relative noted, a shorter sentence, fewer past offences and a higher occupational status than those least likely to be enrolled for Self Preservation. The most powerful separate effects were associated with the average number of months spent in previous institutions (beta=.20), sentence length and number of aliases. Contrary to conventional wisdom, those enrolled for Self Preservation were more inclined to be serving shorter sentences than those with low Self Preservation scores. Note that when considered separately, sentence length was not correlated with Self Preservation (r=-.02) but, when combined with the other variables in the equation, it was the second most powerful variable.

V. Cognitive Interest

Eight variables combined to explain about 21 percent of the variance in Cognitive Interest scores (Table 21). The relationships in this equation strongly resembled those found among non-inmate populations. Learning for its own sake (Cognitive Interest) was significantly associated with the occupational status of the participants. Most of the 102 inmates in this study were unskilled or skilled workers. Only six were deemed to be in the managerial/administrative or professional/technical categories. Yet occupational status (beta=.24) was quite strongly associated with enrolling for Cognitive Interest. Inmates with the highest score on this factor thus had a "higher" occupational status, had spent no or little time in protective custody, tended to come from a criminal family, have more aliases, a relative noted, to be

TABLE 21

Multivariate Predictors of Prison Education Participation Scale Cognitive Interest Scores

Variable	X	S.D.	Multiple r	Simple r	Beta (final)	F-ratio
Occupational status	1.88	.97	.24	.24	.24	6.37
Time in protective custody	1.14	.49	.32	-.16	-.29	5.87
From criminal family?	1.07	.48	.36	.04	.14	5.17
No. of aliases	.27	.44	.39	.13	.13	2.43
No. present offences	2.93	3.79	.41	-.08	-.14	4.04
Relative Noted ?	1.77	.50	.43	.15	.22	3.72
Age	30.24	9.77	.45	.14	.16	3.51
Medical Ailment	1.18	.50	.46	.06	-.09	3.16

older but to have committed fewer "present" offences than those with lower Cognitive Interest scores. It was noteworthy that inmates who had been in protective custody (and were presumably sex offenders or informers) were significantly less likely to be enrolled for Cognitive Interest. As shown in Table 20 they were more inclined to be enrolled for Self Preservation.

This chapter has focussed on specific veriables and their relationship to PEPS scores. In the following chapter general conclusions concerning the psychometric qualities of PEPS scores are discussed. There is also an examination of inmate variables that appear to be related to more than one motivational orientation score.

CHAPTER TEN

ANTECEDENTS OF MOTIVATIONAL ORIENTATIONS: AN OVERVIEW

The Prison Education Participation Scale

It was concluded that PEPS is psychometrically and psychologically sound and well-suited for application in other correctional settings. The items were inductively derived, represent major "orientations" that impel inmates into prison education programmes and do not appear to be culture-bound. Moreover the items appear to be suitable for use with both sexes. The five factors--Personal Control, Self Assertion, Outside Contact, Self Preservation and Cognitive Interest--all measured factors which casual observation suggested would explain why inmates participate in prison education programmes.

The solution used to generate the five factors was psychometrically satisfying. Items incorporated into Factor I had loadings that ranged from .46 to .79; in Factor II loadings ranged from .54 to .83; in Factor III they ranged from .49 to .73; in Factor IV from .41 to .68 and in Factor V from .53 to .84. The solution was pure: no item had a high loading on more than one factor. The factors were internally consistent and easy to interpret.

Together the five factors accounted for 53.88 percent of the variance. After rotation the sum of the squared factor loadings divided by the sum of the communalities was 28.77 for Factor I; 20.21 for Factor II, 19.15 for Factor III, 17.04 for Factor IV, and 14.81 for Factor V. In some respects Factor I,

Personal Control, was of greatest interest since it accounted for nearly 30 percent of the explained variance and is so closely related to the theoretical underpinnings for modern correctional education programmes. Moreover, the 102 inmates had higher mean scores on Personal Control and Cognitive Interest than on the remaining factors. In future research it will be interesting to measure the extent to which initial motivation (likely to be of the Self Assertion type) recedes and is replaced by Personal Control and Cognitive Interest. But, in the present context, the Personal Control factor was of great interest and will provide a focus for the following chapter.

Relationships between PEPS and Inmate Variables

After examining a variety of conceptual approaches to the participation problem it was decided that, in this initial study, the focus would be on inmate variables as predictors of motives for participation. It was argued that it is necessary to understand what "motivates" inmates to participate, and variables asociated with motivational orientations, in order to more adequately tailor programmes to inmate needs and motives. None of this denies the fact much variance in participation undoubtedly stems from system variables (both inside and outside prisons) that effect but do not stem from the psychology of prison inmates. Table 22 shows PEPS factors and inmate variables that entered regression equations generated for each factor. Recall that the same personal background, criminal background, present offence, institutional history and educational background variables were eligible to enter each

TABLE 22

Type of Variables Entering Regression Equations to Predict Prison Education Participation Scale Scores

Inmate Variables	I Personal Control	II Self Assertion	III Outside Contact	IV Self Preservation	V Cognitive Interest
I. Personal Characteristics (Total = 16) (No. eligible = 8)	Conservatism Rel. noted Rough marriage	Age Rel. noted Med. ailment	Rel. noted Rough marriage Conservatism Age	No. aliases Rough home Rel. noted Occup. status	Occup. status Crim. family No. aliases Rel. noted Age Med. ailment
II. Criminal Background (Total = 8) (No. eligible = 5)	No. aliases History viol. No. past off.		No. aliases No. past offences	No. past off.	
III. Present Offence (Total = 8) (No. eligible = 4)	Date of sent.	No. present offences	No. present offences	Sentence length	No. present offences
IV. Institutional History (Total = 11) (No. eligible = 7)	No. transfers Time in RPC		Time in prot. custody Time in RPC No. transfers	Security rating Av.mths in inst. Time in RPC Time in prot. custody	Time in prot. custody
V. Educational variables (Total = 13) (No. eligible = 1)		Class level			

equation. Thus of the sixteen personal characteristic variables (age, conservatism, etc.) eight were eligible to enter the Personal Control, Self Assertion, Outside Contact, Self Preservation and Cognitive Interest regression equations. Of the eight criminal background variables five were eligible to enter each of the regression equations. Variables were entered in a stepwise fashion until less than one percent of the variance was being accounted for. When examining Table 22 it must be remembered that the variables listed each accounted for variance in PEPS scores when combined with other variables already in, or about to enter a regression equation. Thus they

were not listed in this table because they had a "separate" effect on PEPS scores (such as revealed through a simple r or F-ratio) but because they contributed to the combined effect of a set of independent variables. Their separate contribution is reflected in the beta weights shown in tables containing statistics related to each of the regression equations.

The eligible personal background variables were age, height, occupational status, broken home, rough marriage, relative noted, medical ailment, and conservatism. The eligible criminal background variables were criminal family, number of aliases, history of violence, number of past offences, and previous drug involvement. The eligible present offence/sentence variables were number of present offences, date of the most recent sentence, severity of present offence, and sentence length. The eligible institutional history variables were current security rating, number of transfers in the present sentence, average number of months spent in each institution, time spent in the Regional Psychiatric Centre, time spent in protective custody, dominant direction of transfers, and number of suicide attempts. The eligible educational variable was class level.

Two significant conclusions arose from Table 22. The first concerned the consistent influence on PEPS scores of having a relative noted. This was the only variable to meet the criterion for entry into each regression equation. With regard to its separate effects, it was a powerful predictor of Personal Control (beta=.40), the most powerful predictor of Self

Assertion (beta=.28), the most powerful predictor (with Number of transfers--both beta's .35) of Outside Contact, a weak predictor of Self Preservation (beta=.09) and a moderately powerful predictor of Cognitive Interest (beta=.15). On each of the factors the beta weights were positive, thus inmates with a relative noted had higher scores on the factor than those with no relative noted. The second conclusion stemming from Table 22 is that criminal background, present offence and institutional history variables were not particularly powerful predictors of motives for participation. Recall that some nominal variables, such as type of offence, were not eligible for entry into the regression equations. Nevertheless their relationship to motivational orientations was revealed in the oneway analyses of variance reported earlier. The variables composing the Personal Control equation reached a multiple r of .52; thus the configuration of variables shown in Table 17 explained 27.04 percent of the variance in Personal Control. The most powerful contribution stemmed from conservatism scores. In view of the fact the Personal Control factor was the most substantial to arise from the PEPS correlation matrix and is of great theoretical interest, the following chapter will focus on it.

Criminal background, and institutional history variables were also poor predictors of Self Assertion. When considered alone some were significantly associated (as revealed through correlation or ANOVA) with Self Assertion but when their separate effects were revealed in a multivariate analysis they were less influential than age (beta=-.32), relative noted

(beta=.22), class level (beta=-.22) and number of present offences (beta=.15). Note that three of these were personal background variables while one was a "present offence" variable. Note also that the multiple r for Self Assertion reached .46 indicating that 21.41 percent of the variance had been accounted for. With regard to Outside Contact the best predictors were number of transfers noted (beta=.35) relative noted (beta=.35), rough marriage (beta=-.25), number of aliases (beta=.19) and conservatism (beta=.16). Three were personal background variables, one was a criminal background and one an institutional history variable. The multiple r for Outside Contact was .38 (14.71 percent of the variance explained). Variables that had the most powerful separate effect on Self Preservation scores were average months in institutions listed (beta=.20), sentence length (beta=-.16), number of aliases (beta=.16) and time in protective custody (beta=.15). Four personal background variables entered the equation but, in general, were less powerful than the criminal background, present offence and institutional history variables listed above. In this respect, Self Preservation departed from the pattern that emerged in the other equations. The most powerful separate contributions to the Cognitive Interest equation were from time in protective custody (beta=-.29), occupational status (beta=.24), relative noted (beta=.22), and number of aliases (beta=.15). However, note in Table 22 that of the eight variables entering the Cognitive Interest equation, six were from the personal background category. The Cognitive Interest

equation reached a multiple r of .46 (21.42 percent of the variance acconted for).

The regression equations explained 27.04 percent of the Personal Control variance, 21.41 percent of the variance in Self Assertion, 14.71 percent of the variance in Outside Contact, 11.65 percent of the variance in Self Preservation and 21.42 percent of the variance in Cognitive Interest. Some of these regression equations were of great theoretical interest but even for the Personal Control factor 73 percent of the variance was unexplained. Had the criterion for entry into this and other equations been lowered more variance could have been explained. But each of the new variables would explain only miniscule amount of variance in PEPS scores. Thus, it was concluded that while, on most factors, personal background appears to be more related to reasons for participation than other types of variables, motivational orientations were largely independent of variables such as those studied here. This replicated the dominant finding in the general (non-inmate) motivational orientation literature (see Boshier & Collins, 1982). While some factors were significantly associated with socio-psychological factors most variance in participant motivation was unexplained. Motivational orientations that impel people into adult eduction classes are not redundant measures of something else. Both PEPS and the general form of the EPS (Boshier, 1982) appear to measure psychologically distinct variables largely unrelated to other variables habitually used in this type of reserch. In this study the result was

particularly significant because an inductive approach was used and, as a result, numerous independent variables were examined. For the author of the Prison Education Participation Scale it was gratifying to know that the instrument measures "clean" factors that are not redundant or overlapping manifestations of some other variable. But, the inability to explain larger amount of variance in PEPS scores leaves open many questions concerning the participation behaviour of inmates. Had "cleaner" and nominal data (converted to dummy variables) been entered into the equation a greater amount of variance may have been explained. But even if an additional 25 percent had been explained the situation would not be significantly altered.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

CONSERVATISM AND PERSONAL CONTROL: A THEORY

Empirical Foundations

Of the five PEPS factors, Personal Control was of great interest because it accounted for more variance in the correlation matrix (both before and after rotation) than any other factor and was psychologically and conceptually related to the theory associated with the "cognitive deficit" model that provides a foundation for university programmes in Pacific region prisons. Personal Control consisted of 13 items such as "to overcome past failures", "to get control on my life", "to gain insight into my personal problems" and "to change how I will live on the street".

Further research will be needed to explore the socio-psychological foundations of this factor but, in the present context, the fact conservatism and having a relative noted were the first two variables to enter the Personal Control regression equation has theoretical significance. Examination of the correlation matrix revealed that conservatism (r=.36) and having a relative noted (r=.21) were the variables most strongly associated with Personal Control scores. Conservatism was the first variable to enter the Personal Control regression equation; relative noted was second. Together they explained 16.41 percent of the variance. Seven other variables subsequently met the criterion for entry into the equation but together they explained only another 10.63 percent of the variance. Conservatism was also significantly correlated

($p<.05$--one-tailed test) to class level ($r=-.29$), history of violence ($r=.16$), current security rating ($r=-.24$), dominant direction of transfer ($r=.25$), time in protective custody ($r=.19$), number of present offences ($r=.16$) and number of transfers ($r=-.18$). The Personal Control regression equation suggested that inmates with the highest scores were more conservative and likely to have a relative noted on their transfer board file than were low scorers on the Personal Control factor. It is also known that amongst this group of 102 inmates high C-scores were associated with being in a "lower" educational level, having a greater history of violence, more "present" offences, fewer transfers and time in protective custody.

Theoretical Considerations

As noted in Chapter 4, the C-scale was originally developed to remedy defects in the Adorno, et al., (1950) F (fascism) scale. Since the first edition of the C-scale was published (Wilson & Patterson, 1968) considerable evidence has accumulated which points to the fact conservatism is a general factor consisting of religious dogmatism, a right wing political orientation, militarism, ethnocentrism, intolerance of minority groups, authoritarianism, punitiveness, anti-hedonism, conformity, conventionality, superstition and opposition to scientific progress. The characteristics listed are all highly intercorrelated. In other words, ethnocentric people are also punitive, intolerant of minority groups, conformist and so on. The consistency with which these factors are intercorrelated led

to the notion that personality dynamics must be involved in the organization of social attitudes. In other words, people do not "objectively" assess "evidence" pertaining to minority groups, militarism and suchlike. Rather, their response to these issues is largely determined by the extent to which they possess the conservatism syndrome.

There is considerable evidence pertaining to the acquisition of attitudes. McGuire (1969) and other standard works suggest that the process is influenced by genetic variables, social learning, cognitive processes and unconscious "dynamic" factors. Adorno, et al. (1950) based their theory on Freudian psychology which stresses the prototypical nature of parent/child relationships. The child raised in an authoritarian household will remain in a state of childlike dependency, display obedience in institutional situations demanding subservience, and identify with the "father" when he is in a position of authority. Byrne (1965) has shown that authoritarian parents produce authoritarian children. Using the C-scale, Boshier and Thom (1973) tested a group of parents and their children and concluded that conservative parents rear conservative children. In a study of the "generation-gap" Boshier (1973) found that inter-familial continuity outweighed discontinuity between generations. Moreover, Boshier and Izard (1972) found that conservative mothers were more inclined to dominate, reject and indulge their children than were liberal mothers. While reading inmate files, researchers working on this study were struck by the number of cases where inmates had

witnessed familial violence before committing a similar act of their own. Social learning theory (Bandura, 1977) could be used to further develop theory concerning the transmission of attitudes and behaviour from one generation to the next, but, in the present context, it is more relevant to concentrate on why conservatism and having a relative noted were variables most strongly associated with enrolling for Personal Control reasons. Thus the focus here is on the patterning of attitudes and the relationship between conservatism and Personal Control.

Inmate Conservatism and Personal Control

Paradoxically, conservative inmates enrolled for Personal Control are trying to modify the over-simplified, ordered and controlled psychological world that they sense has created problems in the past and is incongruent with the state they aspire to. The paradox arises from the fact conservatism serves a defensive function. Theoretically, conservatism can be seen as a human attempt to "escape from freedom" (Fromm, 1941), or as a "means of simplifying, ordering, controlling, and rendering more secure, both the external world (through perceptual processes, stimulus preferences, etc.) and the internal world (needs, feelings, desires, etc.)" (Wilson, 1973, p. 261). Thus the conservative imposes order on inner needs and feelings by subjugating them to rigid and simplistic external codes of conduct (rules, laws, morals, duties, obligations); this reduces conflict and diminishes anxiety that occurs when people realize they have alternative modes of action and have to choose among them.

This theory draws heavily on the work of New Zealand psychologists who created the C-scale and used it in various parts of the world, the conceptual foundations underlying the work of Adorno, et al. (1950), and other contributions concerning the psychological foundations of conservatism (e.g. Sanford, 1973). Wilson (1973) described conservatism as a generalized susceptibility to experiencing threat or anxiety in the face of uncertainty. Uncertainty includes both stimulus uncertainty (complexity, novelty and suchlike, as states in the physical environment such as described by Berlyne [1960]) and response uncertainty (freedom of choice, conflicting needs, desires and suchlike, originating within the individual). Both constitute a source of threat to individuals with a generalized proneness to the "vulnerability" of uncertainty.

The theory is shown diagramatically in Figure 4. Certain genetic factors such as anxiety proneness, stimulus aversion (sensitivity to strong stimuli), low intelligence, lack of physical attractiveness, and environmental factors which, in the case of inmates would be parental coldness, punitiveness, rigidity, membership in the "lower" classes, and inappropriate role models, give rise to feelings of insecurity, inferiority and psychological vulnerability. For example, people continually subject to harsh punishment, inconsistent "discipline", alcohol or drug related abuse and/or violence and other "inappropriate" behaviour, will eventually introject, accept or "internalize" the low evaluation of themselves that significant people in the environment (parents, teachers,

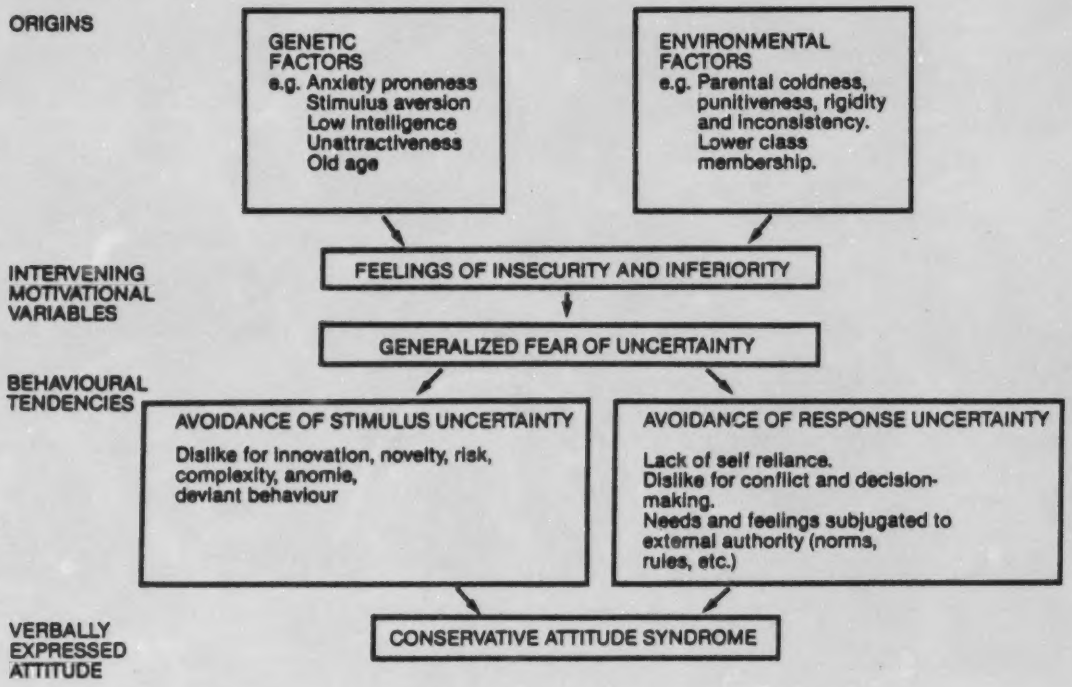

Figure 4. A theory of conservatism.

guards) appear to hold. Feelings of insecurity and inferiority, and the resultant vulnerability, will produce a generalized fear of uncertainty. The insecure individual will fear stimulus uncertainty because the world will be perceived to be complex, changeable and treacherous. Response uncertainty will develop because the individual has no confidence in his ability to control events in the environment or to make autonomous decisions regarding their own behaviour. This generalized fear of uncertainty manifests itself behaviourally in two ways. The

individual will tend to dislike and avoid uncertain, novel or complex stimulus configurations. Secondly, they will dislike and avoid situations that involve a great deal of response uncertainty where needs conflict, and decision-making skills are required. According to Wilson (1973) these tendencies are differentiated to some extent with the fear of stimulus uncertainty being more strongly associated with insecurity and response uncertainty being more closely tied to inferiority feelings. But because of their common genetic and environmental origins there is a positive correlation between them. Finally, the dislike for and avoidance of stimulus and response uncertainty is manifested as an organized pattern of attitudes--labelled "conservatism". Thus, as noted earlier, the attitude items incorporated in the C-scale are not evaluated according to "rational" processes. Rather, more fundamental and deep-seated personality processes determine their organization. The conservative attitude syndrome serves to defend the ego and arises from a generalized fear of uncertainty.

There is plenty of evidence to support the basic tenents of this theory. A good example was a study by Wilson (1973a) which showed that high-C respondents disliked paintings judged to involve a great deal of stimulus uncertainty significantly more than low-C subjects. In a similar vein, Boshier (1973) erected a ladder in a city street and found that high-C respondents were significantly more likely to avoid walking under it (stimulus uncertainty?) than were low-C pedestrians. Boshier (1969) also found that conservatism was negatively related to self esteem.

Pipke (1983) found that high-C respondents were inclined to prefer "self-directed learning" projects when given a choice between "learning" and "non-learning" sparetime pursuits. Nash (1972) showed that conservatives were more fearful of what happens to them after death than are liberals while Di Scipio (1968) showed that conservatives prefer "conventional" jobs while liberals are more open to "artistic" or "infrequent" (bizarre and unusual) occupations.

Some writers (e.g., Ray, 1974) are impatient with attempts to portray conservatives as pathological. Thus, the following discussion is not designed to cast aspersions on conservatives or liberals. No posture is deemed to be "good" or "bad", "right" or "wrong". This disclaimer is particularly relevant in Canada where there are (Progressive) Conservative and Liberal political parties. In this regard "conservatism" as discussed here, is a psychological state, not a political posture. Although psychological and political conservatism may be correlated studies of working class authoritarianism have shown this is not always the case.

Empirical Perspectives

The University of Victoria programme was largely founded on a desire to erode the generalized fear of uncertainty that leads to and the cognitive defects associated with conservatism. In this regard it is salutary to recall Duguid's "impressionistic" description of inmates.

> The most pervasive quality is the off-hand contempt most of them have for the average, honest 'straight' citizen. Such people are regarded as weak, to be

> pitied and, among the more hardened, stepped on. Goodness, justice, humility, honesty, and similar qualities are mere hypocrisy or the attributes of a fool. This surfaces in a kind of anaesthetized sensibility toward violence, a defence of violence as simply a tool of the trade, and the criminal's all to frequent stance toward the victim as someone who simply gets in the way. In this world of 'us' and 'them', the relationship is inevitably hostile. (1981, p. 139)

Duguid contends that criminals share many attributes of the authoritarian personality and, to a certain extent, relies on Kohlberg (1973) who says lower class children see the law as an external force which must be obeyed or rebelled against. Behind the inmate's rationalizations and feelings of victimization is the notion that society owes them a living and "when it does not deliver they are justified in simply taking it".

Apart from a tendency to perceive the world in a black/white fashion and to have it divided into the good guys and bad, "the most salient characteristic of the criminal is a profound egocentricity, a characteristic of pre-adolescent stages of cognitive-moral development". Hence simple reciprocity is the dominant interpersonal style with an equal exchange of favours or blows. "You scratch my back, I'll scratch yours." There is a "retarded ability to emphathize, to see or take the roles of others, including those in authority". Returning to the main point, the relationship between conservatism and enrolling for Personal Control, a paradox emerges. By definition, conservatism is a defensive posture designed to bring order to an uncertain situation.

It was not surprising to find conservatives more inclined to be enrolled for "control" than liberals. Moreover, if there

is a relative noted on the file the chances of enrolling for control are further enhanced. Also, conservative inmates who enrol for Personal Control have more aliases. In this regard, it is known that people who change their names have a lower level of self esteem than those who are satisfied with their existing names (Boshier, 1968) and that alias users are more "criminal" than non-users (Boshier, 1977).

In the outside world conservatives tend to seek situations and pursue occupations where stimulus and response uncertainty is minimized. They are attracted to authority, discipline and structure. Some inmates could be in prison because of a desire for structure. Stimulus uncertainty is minimized. The daily routine is predictable and repetitive. With regard to response uncertainty, needs, feelings and decisions are largely subjugated to and controlled by the keepers. Inmates do not have to take much responsibility for decisions; life is ordered and, for a person who fears uncertainty, must represent a structuring unlike that experienced in the days prior to incarceration. Moreover, as shown below, the prison system reinforces conservative behaviour.

A Model

Relationships between conservatism and enrolling for Personal Control are portrayed in Figure 5. Although some theoretical foundations for this model will need clarification in future research the empirical relationships between each of the components are reasonably clear. Conservatism and "relative noted" were only weakly associated (r=.07) but, when combined,

yield a multiple r of .40 when associated with Personal Control. Also shown (on dotted lines) are the separate relationships between Personal Control and conservatism (r=.36) and relative noted (r=.21).

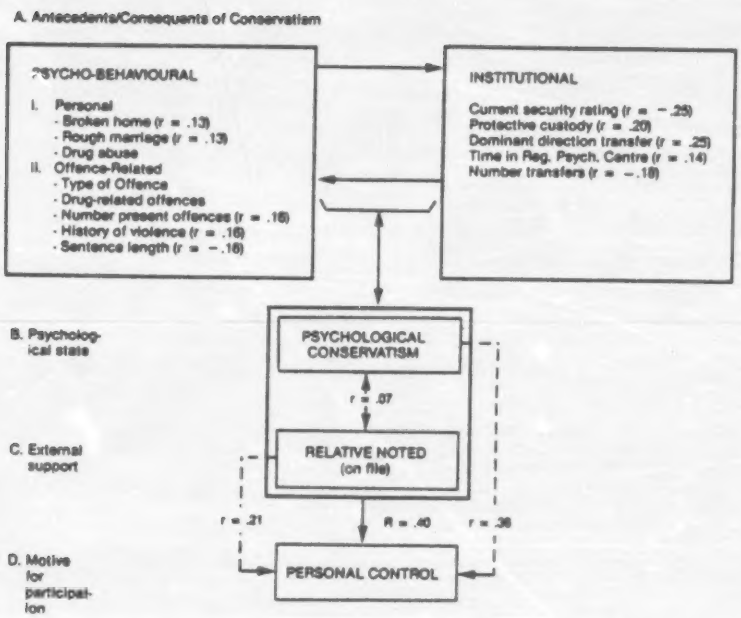
A. Antecedents/Consequents of Conservatism
PSYCHO-BEHAVIOURAL
I. Personal
- Broken home (r = .13)
- Rough marriage (r = .13)
- Drug abuse
II. Offence-Related
- Type of Offence
- Drug-related offences
- Number present offences (r = .16)
- History of violence (r = .16)
- Sentence length (r = −.16)
INSTITUTIONAL
Current security rating (r = −.25)
Protective custody (r = .20)
Dominant direction transfer (r = .25)
Time in Reg. Psych. Centre (r = .14)
Number transfers (r = −.16)
B. Psychological state
C. External support
D. Motive for participation
PSYCHOLOGICAL CONSERVATISM
r = .07
RELATIVE NOTED (on file)
r = .21
R = .40
r = .36
PERSONAL CONTROL

Figure 5. Antecedents/consequents of conservatism.

Conservatism is presumed to stem from the genetic and

environmental factors shown in Figure 4. Variables listed as antecedents/consequents of conservatism in Figure 5 were all empirically and theoretically related to conservatism. Some, such as coming from a broken home or experiencing a rough marriage, are antecedents of conservatism liable to evoke "motivational variables" that mediate the relationship between the origins and behaviorial tendencies associated with conservatism (see Figure 4). Others, such as drug abuse and violence are probably consequents that flow from conservatism. Although great care must be exercised when thinking about the direction of relationships such as those portrayed in Figure 5 it is salutary to examine the empirical foundations for this model.

Before describing relationships between conservatism and each of the psycho-behaviourial or institutional correlates it must be recalled that class level was a good predictor (r=-.29) of conservatism. Many of the "senior" students in the present population had been exposed to education for several years and, it is hypothesized, had moved from a conservative to a liberal psychological state. Thus, relationships such as those portrayed in Figure 5 were blunted by the presence of well-educated "liberal" inmate/students. Thus, in future research, it would be desirable to test the model by securing data from a group of inmates who were just beginning or had had a minimal exposure to the education programme. But, despite this problem, Figure 5 is theoretically suggestive. Variables shown at the top of the model are deemed to be antecedents and/or consequents

because at this early stage it is not known whether they precede or flow from the development of the conservatism syndrome. Thus prudence demands double-headed arrows to link both sets of antecedents/consequents to conservatism. The psycho-behavioural correlates are all variables theoretically under the control of the inmate. Although sentences are meted out by judges most inmates know what kind of sentences are associated with what types of behaviour. The institutional correlates all concerned responses made by corrections authorities. Each response is influenced by the behaviour and attitudes of the inmate. Thus, although separated for conceptual reasons, the institutional and psycho-behavioural variables are related, hence the two-way arrows linking them.

Psycho-behavioural Correlates of Conservatism

Harsh environments evoke conservatism. It is known that punitive child-rearing practices evoke conservative responses in children (Boshier & Thom, 1978) and that when entire societies experience dislocation and uncertainty, conservatism will result. Thus, central to Fromm's (1941) analysis concerning events in pre-war Germany was the notion that the middle-class turned to Nazism because of psychological vulnerability induced by rampant inflation, the humiliation of the "fatherland" and their own "fear of freedom". Thus, in the present context, it was consistent for inmates from broken homes or rough marriages to be more conservative than those who had not suffered these maladies. Table 23 shows data consistent with this hypothesis. Inmates from broken homes (X=35.33) had higher mean C-scores

TABLE 23

Mean Conservatism Scores for Prisoner/Students with Different Psycho-Behavioral Characteristics

Psycho-Behavioral Characteristic	n	Mean	S.D.
A. General			
Broken home			
Not from broken home	39	32.66	14.27
From broken home	54	35.33	12.45
Rough marriage			
No rough marriage	61	32.78	13.48
Experienced rough marriage	35	36.22	12.47
History of drug abuse			
No history drug abuse	25	31.40	12.90
Has history drug abuse	70	34.75	13.62
B. Offence-related			
Type of offence			
Against Person			
- Non-drug related	23	31.82	12.50
- Drug-related	18	29.66	12.04
- Sex-related	25	39.32	12.39
Against Property			
- Relationship implied	20	37.05	12.84
- No relationship implied	12	27.16	14.84
Role of drugs in present offence			
None	45	32.64	13.32
Alcohol dominant	33	39.09	11.82
Soft drugs dominant	5	32.00	3.24
Hard drugs dominant	19	28.36	13.33
History of violence			
None	21	29.76	11.67
History of violence	81	34.97	13.18
Results of violence			
None	21	29.76	11.67
Injury to another person	56	36.33	13.03
Death to another person	22	32.72	12.87

than those not from a broken home (X=32.66). The difference was not great but in the anticipated direction. Moreover, those who had experienced a rough marriage (X=36.22) were more conservative than the other inmates (X=32.78). It is also known that conservative respondents have lower self esteem than liberals (Boshier, 1979). Drug-taking can be portrayed as a self-rejecting attempt to modify reality. Thus it was

consistent for inmates with a history of drug abuse (X=34.75) to be more conservative than those whose files contained no hint of drug-taking (X=31.40). With regard to type of offence two results stand out. First, inmates convicted of sex offences had the highest conservatism scores (X=39.32). Secondly, the 20 inmates convicted of property offences where some relationship (with the victim) was implied or present had the second highest scores (X=37.05). Note that B & E (break and enter) artists and other unobtrusive property offenders had mean C-scores ten points lower than those for inmates who confronted shopkeepers, gas station attendants and others during "obtrusive" property offences where the victim had to be dealt with directly. Note also that those convicted of offences where alcohol was "dominant" were more conservative (X=39.09) than other inmates. These data suggest that conservative inmates were more violent and thus constitute a greater danger to others than liberals. It appears that conservatism has pathological dimensions manifested in violence and distorted psycho-sexual development. In this regard note (in Table 23) that inmates with a history of violence (X=34.97) were more conservative than those whose files contained no evidence of violence (X=29.76).

With regard to the psycho-behavioural interval variables in Figure 5 it can be seen that conservatives had more "present offences" (r=.16) but shorter sentences (r=-.16) than liberal inmates.

Institutional Correlates

The psycho-behavioural characteristics described above all stem from genetic or environmental forces in the life-space of the inmate. Variables listed in Table 24 are largely under the control of authorities running the correctional institution.

TABLE 24

Mean Conservatism Scores for Prisoner/Students with Different Institutional Characteristics

Institutional Characteristic	n	Mean	S.D.
Protective Custody			
No protective custody	75	32.37	13.63
Time in protective custody	21	39.66	10.64
Dominant Direction of Transfers			
Transfer to a higher 'S' level	15	25.80	12.88
No direction dominant	57	33.73	12.99
Transfer to a lower 'S' level	27	38.62	11.91
Time in Regional Psychiatric Centre			
No R.P.C. time	84	30.67	12.88
Time in R.P.C.	13		

Table 24 suggests that while the education programme tries to liberate people from the conformist orthodoxies of conservatism the institution reinforces conservative behaviour. In this regard note that conservative inmates had a significantly lower 'S' (security) rating than liberals ($r=-.25$, $p<.01$). Moreover, those whose "dominant" direction of transfer was to a more secure environment tended to be more liberal ($\bar{X}=25.80$) than those transferred to less secure institutions ($\bar{X}=38.62$). Indeed, the correlation between number of transfers and conservatism ($r=-.18$, $p<.05$) suggests that liberal inmates get more transfers (usually to more secure environments) than

conservatives. In this regard it would be interesting to examine the relationship between conservatism and involvement in institutional incidents ("bad" behaviour). Unfortunately, this could not be done because of the skewd and imcomplete nature of the "incident" data (hostage-taking, sitdowns, assaults). Table 24 also shows that inmates who had experienced protective custody (largely sex offenders, informers or other vulnerable people) were more conservative than those who had spent all their time in the general prison population. Also, those who had spent time in the Regional Psychiatric Centre were more conservative than those who had not had this experience. Having regard to the foregoing it apears that conservatives were more prone to violence and sex-related crimes than liberals.

It is also probable that conservatism and cognitive deficits co-vary; highly conservative inmates think in stereotyped black-white categories and are literally "closed-minded" (Rokeach, 1960). More work will be needed to test these notions but, in the present context, it was consistent for conservatives to be enrolled in education for Personal Control. It is hypothesized that their violent and stereotyped behaviour is rooted in the conformist orthodoxies of conservatism. They seek psychological liberation but, in many respects, remain ambivalent because outside academia the prison system rewards conservatism with transfers to less secure environments. By definition, a conservative is a person who respects and yields to authority. Conservatives are easy to manage in prison because they acquiesce to authority and respect "power". In

contrast, liberals see shades of grey, have ideas about "just communities" (Kohlberg, 1972; 1974) and it is hypothesized, are more inclined to argue with prison authorities. From this perspective it appears that the cognitive deficit educational "model" and the general life of the prison are in conflict. Thus it is no surprise to learn that inmates want to keep academic centres insulated from the rest of the prison.

Multivariate Correlates of Conservatism

The situation was investigated further by entering most of the psycho-behavioural and institutional variables shown in Figure 5 into a regression equation designed to explain variance in Conservatism scores. Nominal variables, such as type of offence, were not entered since they did not meet assumptions for correlation. The following variables were eligible for entry into the conservatism equation:

Personal Background
- -Height
- -Broken home
- -Rough marriage
- -Criminal family
- -Relative noted
- -Number of tatoos
- -Extent of involvement with drugs
- -Occupational status
- -Medical ailment

Criminal Background
- -Number of aliases
- -Number of past offences
- -History of violence
- -Results of violence

Present Offence/Sentence
- -Number of present offences
- -Severity of present offence
- -Length of the present sentence

Institutional Variables

-Current security rating
-Dominant direction of transfers
-Experience of protective custody
-Number of suicide attempts

Table 25 confirms results presented above. As the signs on the beta weights show, conservative inmates were most likely to have been transferred to lower security, to have a lower 'S' rating but, at the same time, a greater penchant for violence than more liberal inmates. In addition, conservatives had shorter sentences, more present offences, were less likely to have a medical ailment but more likely to be from a broken home, than were liberals.

TABLE 25

Multivariate Predictors of Conservatism in 102 Prison Inmates

Variable	X	S.D.	Multiple r	Simple r	Beta (final)	F-ratio (at entry)
Dominant direction of transfer	2.05	.72	.25	.25	.22	6.86
Current 'S' rating	4.24	1.37	.34	-.24	-.27	6.65
Results of violence	1.75	1.03	.39	.14	.28	6.04
Sentence length	2738.49	2165.74	.44	-.15	-.19	5.85
Number present offences	2.93	3.79	.47	.16	.16	5.48
Medical ailment	1.18	.50	.48	-.06	-.16	4.87
Broken home	1.44	.65	.50	.12	.13	4.49

CHAPTER TWELVE

CONSERVATISM AND INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSES

Earlier, it was stressed that studies of inmate participation behaviour would eventually have to consider both "person" and "environment" variables and interactions between them. The fact conservative inmates were more likely to be transferred to lesser security than were liberals, when coupled with the desire to remedy cognitive deficits, suggests that those who become liberal as a result of education may be jeapordizing the possibility of being "cascaded" downwards.

There appears to be a close relationship between conservatism, as measured here, and cognitive deficits, as described by architects of the University of Victoria programme (e.g., Ayers, 1981; Duguid, 1981, 1981a; Parlett, 1981). Although advocates of the University of Victoria program make the remediation of cognitive deficits the centerpiece of their theoretical foundation, they directly attack conservatism through liberal education. Even the teachers were selected partly on the basis of their ability to argue the case for liberal (in most cases liberal-left) causes and attitudes. Thus, conservatism should decline as a function of time spent in the programme. As an inmate gets educated their need to retain a conservative (defensive) posture should be reduced; so also should the tendency to perceive in a "black-white" fashion and to adopt a "hard line" on contemporary social issues. Thus, "senior" students should be more liberal than those beginning their programme. At present there is no longitudinal study that

provides a definitive answer concerning this matter. But preliminary evidence is consistent with the notion that education is associated with liberalism because conservatism was negatively correlated with class level ($r=-.29$, $p<.001$). This was a very significant result. Thus, inmates in "lower" classes (e.g., G.E.D.) were significantly more conservative than those in the "upper" university programmes.

The notion that conservatism diminishes with education is supported by research involving the F-scale. Feldman and Newcomb (1969) showed that authoritarianism was significantly reduced over time in most colleges. In short, seniors had lower F-scores than freshmen. This was explained as "an adaptation to campus culture" (Sanford, 1973) but, from present perspectives, could also be attributed to cognitive development. The cognitive interpretation was strongly supported by Selznick and Steinberg (1969) who argued that Western society contains two cultures, the common and the enlightened, and that forms of prejudice are simply aspects of the common culture. Sanford (1973) doubts this and, in the early 1950's, when asking how authoritarianism might be reduced through education, realized that the observed effects were not merely due to "adaptation" to campus culture because "correlations began to accumulate between the degree and direction of change...and a wide range of factors and processes within the academic environments" (1973, p. 162). Freedom from authoritarianism increases with education

> not only because of intellectual development, but because personality itself changes under the impact of well-directed education. Various features of the college environment work, or can be made to work, to

> reduce authoritarianism in personality; governance that helps the student become his own authority, course content that helps him become aware of his own impulses, teaching that challenges preconceptions and gives practice in criticism, faculty members who are models ot independent thinkers, and a general climate of freedom and respect for the individual. (1973, p. 162)

Institutional Responses to Conservatism

In the files of the 102 inmates studied here there were numerous requests for a transfer to lesser security. Faced with crowded penitentiaries the transfer board deals with transfer requests as expeditiously as possible. Occasionally there is a request for a transfer "upwards" to higher security but, most of the time, a "lower" environment is required because it is seen to be a step closer to the street. Indeed, many inmates were prepared to sacrifice education programmes because of their intense desire to move "closer" to the "street". But it is also clear that correctional authorities use the witholding and granting of transfer requests as a way of reinforcing "desired" or extinguishing "undesired" inmate behaviour.

Table 24 showed that inmates whose "dominant" direction of transfer was to a higher (more secure) environment had a mean C-score of 25.80. As such, these inmates were more liberal than the correctional educators at U. B. C., the 23 undergraduate university students and most of the 70 Canadians in Pipke's (1983) study. In contrast those "rewarded" with a transfer to lower (less secure) environments had a C-score of 38.62. This group were thus more conservative than any of the Canadians in

Pipke's sample. Although somewhat puny when compared to Singaporeans, a score of 38.62 in a Canadian context is a manifestation of fairly extreme conservatism. This result was rendered even more startling by the fact that of all the variables eligible to explain variance in the regression equation predicting conservatism, "dominant direction of transfer" was the first to enter. The relationship was confirmed when current 'S' rating entered second. Even more perplexing was that inmates transferred downwards were more likely to have a history of violence where they had injured or killed another person. Perhaps the clue that explains this apparently anomaly is that sentence length was highly correlated with the first three variables to enter the equation. Beta weights on the variables in Table 25 showed that the most conservative inmates had been transferred downwards, had a lower 'S' rating, had committed more violent acts, and were serving shorter sentences than the least conservative inmates. Superficially, it appeared that violent conservative "punks" serving shorter sentences were cascaded to less secure environments more readily than liberals serving longer sentences. But the beta weights show that sentence length had a less powerful separate effect on conservatism than results of violence.

Theoretically, it was consistent for conservative inmates to be more violent than liberals. There is good evidence to support the notion that violence is a component of conservatism or vice versa. Thus the notion that conservative inmates are

more inclined to enrol in education for Personal Control than are liberal inmates, when coupled with the possibility that education erodes conservatism, is an encouraging result. Correctional authorities should be encouraged that these inmates were "motivated" by a desire to change their situation. In view of the known relationship between violence and conservatism the emergence of liberal attitudes could be regarded as an index of success for an education programme. However, this kind of success will have little meaning to inmates who get transferred to a more secure environment as a reward for their intellectual labours. Of course inmates do not get transferred upwards for being "liberal". Nor do others get transferred to minimum security for being "conservative". It is the behavioural manifestations of the attitudes that need examination. Nevertheless the relationship between conservatism and "dominant" direction of transfer is sufficiently perplexing to warrant further study. As it stands, the goals of the education programme and transfer policies appear to be in conflict. This reinforces casual observations made by both the present researchers and the O.I.S.E. reviewers concerning the need to clarify the relationship between education and rewards available in the system, as well as to create institutions primarily geared to education, rather than incarceration.

Creating a Learning Society

The on-again off-again nature of education programmes (particularly those associated with universities), buttressed by the striking relationship between conservatism and transfers,

create a situation where, despite good intentions, inmate participants are confronted by negative external forces over which they have little control. It could be argued that, in this respect, they are no different to adult learners everywhere. Indeed, the diminished "margin" of adult learners is one of the elements that distinguishes adult from other branches of education. Yet, after having regard to the fragile psychological state of many inmate learners, their demonstrated penchant for violence, and the ostensible power of education to create change and remedy deficits in what some deem to be a "nothing works" climate, it would be desirable to ensure that institutional policies support rather than dampen whatever force, spirit, impulse, drive, motive or other instrumentality moves inmates to participate in adult education.

However, the desired outcomes will not be achieved merely by tinkering with a few "system" variables. Although there might be good reasons for changing transfer and pay policies, and for examining the physical and psychological relationship between academic centres and the rest of the prison, the participation "problem" is more connected to conceptual ambiguity concerning relationships between education and incarceration than practical impediments created by correctional staff. At present, education in the Canadian penitentiary system is "maintenance" oriented (see Botkin, et al, 1979) and marginal (Clark, 1958). The flagship programmes are run by the University of Victoria and, although based on sound theory, are higher education oriented and largely disconnected from other

elements in the "system".

Higher education appeals to and is suitable for elite members of the inmate population, but is not congruent with the needs of most inmates or the prison system. Nor is a maintenance-oriented system of vocational education, which largely teaches fixed rules for recurring situations. Having regard to the need to foster participation in education tailored to the needs of all (not just a subset of) inmates it is necessary to conceive of the penitentiary as a "learning society". The mechanism used to create a learning society is lifelong education (see Dave, 1976).

This is not the place to discuss the historical antecedents of lifelong education or the "learning society." But, in brief it stems from a need to make "learning" normal and commonplace, not the exclusive preserve of childhood or adolescence, or a privileged elite, but an inherent human right of all citizens, "as inalienable as clean water and good shelter" (Boshier, 1980). In this regard it is important to note that prison inmates are supposed to retain normal rights as citizens, except those denied as an unavoidable consequence of incarceration. All citizens are entitled to participate in and have access to good quality education. Thus, as Hervieux-Payette noted, "educational opportunity in prison is not based only on society's desire to reform the criminal, but also on a social commitment to the principle of fairness in a just society" (1981, p. 43).

The prison would not become a learning society by grafting

a few extra programmes onto the existing system but only through a complete redefinition of imprisonment and its purposes. The primary goal of the prison would be the development of autonomous self-directed learners. The purpose of education would not be the inculcation of specific knowledge or vocational skills but the development of intellectual and psychological capacities that enable the inmate to learn continuously for the rest of his life. Adult and higher education would be an integral part of the new prison; it would not be intermittent, peripheral or marginal to the primary purpose of the institution but the core concept around which other considerations (such as security and inmate "treatment") would be organized. The function of education in prison would be expanded in many directions and include all inmate groups. As well, the number of educational settings would be expanded.

Settings for Learning

There would be a broadened array of formal and informal settings for education and learning. Thus education and learning would not be insulated from the rest of the prison. Part of the situation is portrayed graphically in Figure 6.

Most prison education programmes occur within quadrant four and to a lesser extent in quadrant 2 of Figure 6; they largely attract younger inmates and occur in formal settings (academic and training centres) isolated from the rest of the prison. Education is "school-oriented" and composed of classes and courses. In this respect they resemble the most conspicuous

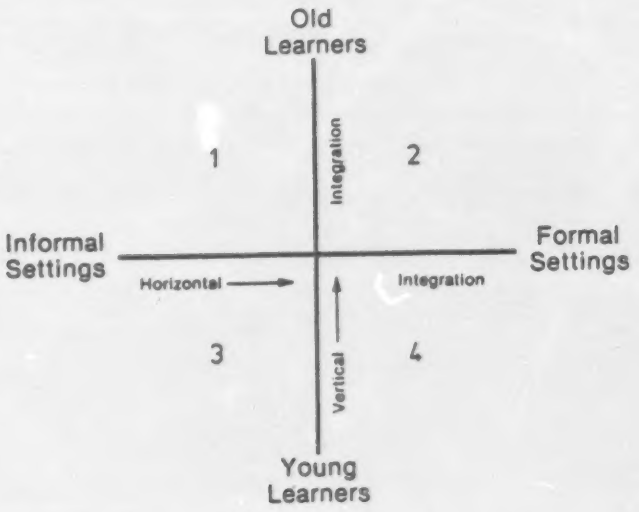

Figure 6. Horizontal and Vertical Integration of Education in a Learning Society.

forms of education outside the prison. But, in a full-fledged learning society founded in principles of lifelong education, there will be high levels of activity in each of the quadrants shown in Figure 6. Thus education will occur in both formal and informal settings and not be the exclusive preserve of younger inmates. There will be a greatly expanded number of opportunities for learning in informal settings and attempts to erode barriers that impede the inmate's access to personnel and resources relevant to informal learning projects (see Tough, 1979) or education occurring in formal instructional settings (see Little, 1979). In short, education would be horizontally integrated (across settings) and vertically integrated (across stages of the life cycle).

While collecting data for this study many inmates pleaded

with the researchers to "make a pitch" for having William Head institution identified as the "university" or "learning" institution for prisoners in Western Canada. They spoke of their willingness to tolerate a secure perimeter so educationally-inclined inmates from all S-levels could be brought together in one "academic" environment that had minimal internal security and greater freedom to move within the institution than is presently the case in federal penitentiaries. They believe that in such an institution education would be a primary rather than an ancillary focus and that, as a result, participation "problems" and "barriers" would be eroded. The inmates also believe it would be possible for correctional authorities to relax strict rules concerning contraband thus facilitating access to scientific equipment, books, arts,[1] crafts and other educational materials. Having a relative "noted" was a significant predictor of motivational orientations. In the "new" William Head institution access to the community and its educational and other resources would be increased and undoubtedly benefit both staff and inmates.

There is more to this idea than the few suggestions

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[1]One file encountered during the course of this study belonged to a native Indian inmate with artistic ability. He had successfully sold work outside and had an elderly woman "patron" willing to support his endeavours. She had mailed him paints and art books which were seized as contraband and sent back. The correspondence between the woman and correctional authorities demonstrates that there are good reasons for controlling "contraband" but also exemplifies the kind of problem that extinguishes fragile "motivation".

revealed here. What is called for is an entire institution founded on principles of lifelong education. The idea has merit but several cautions are needed:

1. The centralization of educational resources in one "learning centre" could lead to the demise of education in the remaining institutions and jeopardize the possible involvement of many inmates.
2. Although there are economies of scale there are inherent problems associated with centralization.
3. "Junior" inmates in the remaining institutions would lose access to senior recruiters (like Whetstone) who model desired behaviour.

Another misgiving stems from a lack of knowledge concerning sources of variance that account for the apparent success of the University of Victoria programme. The two major variables operating in the university programmes are the:

i. liberal arts content of the courses which cause inmates to confront moral and psychological issues; and
ii. the creation of a "just community" insulated from "criminals" in the general population.

If the effects of the University of Victoria programme are primarily due to the remediation of cognitive deficits there would be good arguments for bringing inmates together in a separate facility that has more lavish resources than those available in the existing, fragmented and somewhat insecure

programmes. However, if a lot of the "success" variance stems from the contrast between the "just community" and the rest of the institution, much might be lost.

As Whetstone (1982) noted, the University of Victoria T-shirt is worn like an icon. It is a symbol of identity and success. Perhaps the academic centre a good vehicle for delinquents who need to be different. There are plenty of anecdotes pertaining to this notion but before major changes are contemplated it will be necessary to conduct research which examines the extent to which the programmes "succeed", and interactions between "treatment" and "inmate" variables that explain "success".

Democratization

As well as placing a high priority on learning in informal settings proponents of the learning society also stress the need to democratize education. Democratization would flow from the adoption of lifelong education principles. In the prison setting democratization is inextricably bound up with participation phenomena and means two things:

1. the erosion of barriers that impede access to education; and
2. the widespread involvement of learners in the design and management of their educational experiences.

The situation is portrayed in Figure 7. When using this model to think about participation in prison education programmes it is necessary to distinguish programme planning

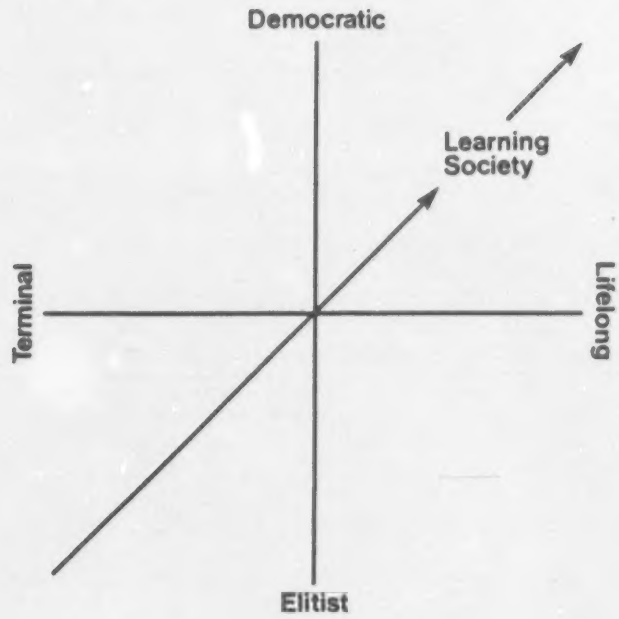

Figure 7. Model portraying attributes of a learning society.

from the design and management of instruction. It appears that present programmes, like most of those outside the fence, are located in the lower left quadrant of this model. Programmes offered are not integrated with or connected to the "lifelong" education of the inmate. Like high school or university "graduation" the education terminates when the inmate leaves the programme. Moreover, so far as programme planning is concerned, there is no systematic consultation between planners and inmate students concerning the nature of programmes offered. Indeed, inmates who want science or engineering-oriented programmes are specifically denied this type of course because it would mean bringing extra equipment onto prison premises. Inmates who want to do distance education programmes with the Open Learning Institute or other agencies cannot make enough telephone calls to get adequate service from their tutors. Thus, inmates choose

a G.E.D., vocational or liberal-arts programme--take it or leave it.

With regard to participation barriers, casual observation suggests that existing programmes cater to an elite group of inmates (However, it is readily acknowledged that this matter needs to be researched by doing a clientele survey wherein the characteristics of participants and non-participants are compared). In some respects the University of Victoria has already approximated part of what is implied by democratization by anchoring operations in the upper right-hand quadrant of Figure 7. Kohlberg's (1974) notion of the "just community" and the University of Victoria's preoccupation with committees, councils and inmate governance, is congruent with the assumptions and operations implied by the notion of lifelong education. But, a democratized system of lifelong education also requires the use of a greater array of "experiential" and other techniques than those used in most programmes. University of Victoria teachers made good use of group discussion. But inmate dependence (on the teacher) is fostered by the use of lecture-oriented techniques that are the mainstay of university programmes everywhere. In future, participation and motivation problems will be significantly ameliorated if instructors adopt innovative learning (Botkin, et al., 1979) principles and techniques that actively engage learners and challenge their preconceptions. In this regard the distinction between higher and adult education becomes explicit.

The function of higher education is to inculcate a culture

and prepare people to occupy positions within society. It operates in accord with an "empty vessel" model; learners are to be filled-up, capped and sent off to serve society. In contrast, adult education is learner rather than information-centred and oriented to change. Adult educators specifically eschew an empty-vessel approach and see themselves as facilitators of learning. They recognize and reinforce the adult's need for independence and autonomy. Thus, adult educators speak of a need to create optimal climates for learning and the importance of actively engaging adults in the design and management of their educational experiences. "Participation" has been a traditional rallying-cry for adult educators and appears in contemporary garb as central to innovative learning (Botkin, et al., 1979).

The use of participatory programme planning and teaching techniques does not mean the instructor will abdicate his or her responsibilities in favour of student control. Rather, the instructor will have to be given sufficient time to work with inmates on the design of case studies, simulations, role plays, debates, and a broad array of structured exercises congruent with the types of learning outcome sought by inmates. It will not be possible to transfer teachers from high school and university straight into the prison environment. The principles of adult education are most congruent with what is required. But whoever accepts the challenge must be flexible enough to endure ambiguity associated with participatory approaches. Moreover, their efforts should be supplemented by those of

counsellors, audio-visual experts, research workers, demostrators and other personnel found in good educational environments. Participation will foster a shift in emphasis from obedience, punishment and training to growth, decision-making, exercise of judgement and maturity. As Duguid noted "since growth occurs...through conflict, the passion for stability and order must be abandoned". People associated with prison will have to recognize that "reasoned conflict, even turmoil, is all right. In this learning atmosphere there would be crises, debates and confrontations, but no doubt fewer riots and less violence" (1982, p. 101). Thus it is necessary to create a community within the prison, or perhaps just in the education programme, that values participation and the principles of "justice, reciprocity and democracy" (1982, p. 102).

The notion of making education, rather than incarceration, the central focus of prisons, may not receive the enthusiastic endorsement of politicians and members of the public who resent or are opposed to the "mollycoddling" of inmates. Some might fear security and other problems that could develop in such a place. But since the University of Victoria programme began, no prison teacher has been hurt by an inmate. As Duguid noted "there have been no incidents of violence or occasions to request intervention or assistance from prison staff on any but administrative maters" (1981, p. 52).

A dramatic statement concerning the value of participation in education was made in June, 1981 at Matsqui. To a bemused

public the riots and fires may have been further proof of the fact "nothing works". But to informed observers the "Matsqui incident" provided fairly unambiguous evidence concerning the benefits of participation. On June 2 the prison was devastated by riots, fire and property damage. On the morning of June 3rd the prison was largely uninhabitable so close to 300 inmates were moved to the academic centre which is in an enclosed compound at one corner of the institution. The inmate students had not participated in the rampage on June 2nd; now "their" centre was crowded with excitable inmates, most of whom had not used educational facilities. The students met to plan a strategy to save the centre because, having come from the general population themselves, they knew that tradition required the destruction of the last place occupied. The library was an obvious target and, with a bit of help, would burn in splendid style. The expensive computers, television sets and other equipment would also be handy targets for destruction. Prison and Royal Canadian Mounted Police officers surrounded but did not enter the compound.

The students were the controllers; now their "authority" would be tested. If they could persuade the rioters to leave the academic centre undamaged it would reinforce their authority and provide evidence of the fact education was perceived as something to be valued and retained. They had two strategies; the most likely methods of persuasion would involve violence or an appeal to inmate solidarity. The students discussed the situation and, using considerable foresight and intelligence did

two things. They got the "educational" television sets and thus pacified some of the hotheads. Secondly the arsonists were persuaded that the university was not part of the penitentiary and that the books and other equipment had helped many inmates do time and, if left alone, would do the same in the future. The students were persuasive and, after tense moments, the arsonists backed down. The authority of the students was reinforced. The library was saved. "Education" emerged more or less unscathed.

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APPENDIX A

Press Response to Closure of University Programmes in Prison

THE GLOBE AND MAIL, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1983

The prison library

It seems to be a peculiarity of governments at all levels in Canada that, when they are called upon to reduce spending, they strike unerringly at the most deserving programs. Federal Solicitor-General Robert Kaplan is no exception to the rule; indeed, he may turn out to be the champion of the ill-considered chop on the strength of his recent decision to withdraw financial support from college and university courses in nine federal prisons.

Mr. Kaplan says they are too expensive, adding the fatuous remark that prisoners who were really serious about improving their education would probably pay for it themselves. (You can always count on money to sort out the serious from the frivolous student.)

Too expensive? The operating budget for correctional services is roughly $400-million a year, of which $17-million goes into various types of training or educational programs. The courses which Mr. Kaplan has cancelled accounted for about $1-million — or a quarter of 1 per cent of the budget.

Prison courses provided through contracts with universities have been a feature of the system for the past 10 years and are currently attended by about 300 out of Canada's 10,000 penitentiary inmates. In determining whether the prisoners or society as a whole get value for the money spent, it is important to know that the course subjects are not randomly chosen; they are concentrated in the humanities — mostly in history and literature — with rehabilitation of the prisoner very much in mind.

Ian Morrison, executive director of the Canadian Association for Adult Education, is among those who deplore bringing the courses to an end. "The study of literature, poetry and history brings prisoners face to face with questions of an ethical and moral nature and can bring about a maturing of value systems — an identification of right from wrong. I have heard this from prisoners themselves."

The program, started by the Donner Canadian Foundation, has accumulated a good deal of information in the past decade to support the theory that the lamp of learning can lead people out of the criminal life. There is a statistically significant difference in recidivism rates between this group and the ordinary prison population and, while this cannot be represented as a massive breakthrough in rehabilitation, it is one of the very few theories to have produced positive results.

Walter Pitman, president of the Association for Adult Education, wrote in a recent article in The Globe and Mail that a study of education programs in British Columbia penitentiaries showed that the risk of recidivism for inmates who participate for at least a year is only a quarter of the risk of those who participate in other programs. Mr. Pitman, who reminded us that the Penitentiary Act required prisons to provide "custody, treatment or training", commented that learning to choose wisely was the most important thing a penitentiary could hope to offer a prisoner and that when it did so society benefited as well.

In the absence of any impressive gains in rehabilitation by other means, it seems extremely unwise of Mr. Kaplan, in the name of economy, to snuff out this small light in a dark cell. It does, after all, cost about $38,000 a year to keep a prisoner in a Canadian penitentiary.

FREE PRESS
LONDON
JAN 28 1983

Mr. Kaplan goofs again

Solicitor General Robert Kaplan's talent for repeatedly putting his foot in it fosters the impression that he is the least able minister in Pierre Trudeau's cabinet.

His latest gaffe, announced without prior consultation with Parliament, is his cancellation of college and university programs in nine federal prisons: one in this province, one in Quebec, three in Ontario and four in British Columbia.

He thinks that this decision will save money. In fact, the reverse may be true, qualifying it as one of the more stupid federal government decisions of recent times.

Of the 10,000 prisoners unfortunate enough to be under his supervision, 232 have been taking advantage of an enlightened program in which the federal government pays their study costs. This widow's mite of the prison population provides Mr. Kaplan the opportunity to display his skills as a ruthless cost-cutter.

Each of these wastrels, says Mr. Kaplan, costs the federal government $3,500 a year because of a desire for self-improvement by the discipline of study. He plans to "save" $812,000 by curbing this desire.

Since Mr. Kaplan is not widely known for original thought, it must be presumed that he is reading from a script provided by his senior officials, just as he reads so well from scripts provided by the senior officers of the RCMP. This justifies doubt in the annual cost estimate per prisoner. Officials opposed to a program often damage its credibility by padding it with various extra expenses to bolster their closure argument.

If there is any truth in the figure, then the department is guilty of incompetent program management. Most people would expect the answer to such a problem to be the firing of the manager, not the abolition of the program.

Not content with following his script, Mr. Kaplan adds his own, inimitable, touch. Those prisoners serious about improving their education will probably pay for it themselves, he says. How are they supposed to get the money to do so while locked up in one of his prisons? Does he propose to increase wages throughout the system so that they can earn a surplus beyond the pittance now paid and spent on small luxuries? Will that cost more or less than the $812,000 that he plans to save by abolishing educational opportunities?

Mr. Kaplan seems incapable of comprehending that providing such educational opportunities to prisoners is as much in the interests of the general Canadian population as of the prisoners concerned. A prisoner who is committed to a course of study, whether it be elementary arithmetic or ancient Greek, is adopting habits of thought foreign to the average criminal mind and is unlikely to return to crime or to prison. That means a genuine saving of tax dollars unspent in incarceration costs, which are very much higher than the alleged $3,500 for education.

That prisoner, man or woman, will come to see past life, current prison colleagues and future possibilities from an entirely different perspective. That prisoner is most unlikely to be interested in the self-destructive path of endless grumbling and unlikely to be available for indulging in mindless violence against other prisoners or against kidnapped prison officers. Such a prisoner is likely to set an example that fellow prisoners may wish to emulate.

By denying the chance of intellectual growth to the tiny number of prisoners currently interested in the program, Mr. Kaplan tells them that Canadian society is discarding the concept of rehabilitation in favor of regression to an earlier, primitive, discredited concept of harsh punishment for all who enter prison, no matter what their crime or state of remorse. It is an attitude which shows how far Mr. Kaplan and his senior departmental officials have drifted from reality. Prime Minister Trudeau would do the country a service if he countermanded this stupid order, returned Mr. Kaplan to the back benches and retired the senior officials of Mr. Kaplan's department.

EDITORIALS

Let prisoners keep studying

Solicitor-General Robert Kaplan is planning to phase out university courses in Canadian prisons for two reasons, one poor, the other worse.

The poor reason is economy. Post-secondary education in prisons costs the government each year about $3,500 per person for the 230 inmates enrolled, or less than $1 million nationwide.

From all accounts the courses, which were begun in 1972 in British Columbia, have been a great success, "the best in North America," as Mr. Kaplan himself concedes.

The savings to be gained in eliminating them, however, are dubious or non-existent. Inmates enrolled in the courses create fewer disturbances and need less supervision than others. The trend continues after their release into society, where their rehabilitation is judged three times as successful as that of other prisoners; that is to say, only 14 per cent of them become repeaters compared to 52 per cent of the general prison population.

It is, to be sure, impossible to say exactly how much of this success can be attributed to the courses. It may be that the students taking them are simply better motivated than their fellow prisoners. Still, one wonders what will become of that motivation when the courses are taken away after this semester. As the figures stand, the courses seem to be helping the prisons do just what they are supposed to be doing: transforming at least a fraction of those consigned there into more capable and enthusiastic citizens.

The worse reason for cancelling the courses is political — an apparent concern about being seen to "coddle" prisoners. It isn't fair, in this view, to provide for inmates an education that law-abiding citizens cannot afford for their own children.

Without doubt there is an injustice here, though it does not lie in the prison system. Governments might well devote themselves to the problem of seeing that any young man or woman able to benefit from higher education is able to get it. But eliminating the prison program will not help them, and to suggest in any way that it would is demagoguery.

Mr. Kaplan is considering a loan program under which an inmate would be able to borrow up to $1,800 a year for education and pay it back from prison earnings. But paying back that amount of money from an income of about $7 a day after deductions for support will make it almost impossible to acquire the nest egg a prisoner is encouraged to build up against the time of his release to make his reintegration easier.

Education is a valued social asset for anyone. The solicitor-general should keep his eye on the truism.

SUN
VANCOUVER, B.C.

Class dismissed

JAN 21 1983

Of all the things wrong with Canada's prison system, educating prisoners to make them better citizens isn't one.

Striptease shows, miniature golf courses, steak three times a week, television and stereo — all the frills that over the years have upset prison guards and the public — are all legitimate targets for criticism of a system grown fat and lax.

The Gallup poll published last month indicating that half of all Canadians feel prison conditions are too liberal surprised nobody.

But Solicitor-General Robert Kaplan has surprised and shocked everybody with his New Year's resolution to cancel all post-secondary education courses in Canadian prisons.

Fair enough that he has to cut costs. That is understood. But cutting off the only rehabilitative program that has had positive results since it was introduced 11 years ago is no way to act or react to either economic circumstances or public pressure.

In B.C., where the courses have been provided under contract by the University of Victoria, the saving this year is estimated to be about $448,000. Over two years, Mr. Kaplan will have saved $2 million across the country.

How much of that, and more, will be spent on ways other than education to set the criminal mind straight, is anyone's guess.

Even if the solicitor-general feels good about it, the public has to wonder about the kind of prisoner who will be released into society once he has served his sentence.

Rather than learning or being taught how to adjust, he will have learned or been taught how to become a better criminal. If he can't be employed sewing mailbags or making licence plates, chances are he'll be equipped to steal them.

Since Mr. Kaplan hasn't said what he expects of prisoners denied the opportunity to reestablish themselves as responsible members of society, anything, even work gangs of rock quarriers, is possible.

The coordinator of UVic's program for prisons, Dr. Douglas Ayers, says studies have shown "that our ex-students who have gone back into society have a lower unemployment rate than the general populace." The proportion of student inmates who return to prison after their release is also lower — 14 per cent, compared to the average prison recidivism rate of about 54 per cent.

There is all kinds of evidence to suggest that far from saving taxpayers' money, Mr. Kaplan's move will be more costly for society in the long run.

That the solicitor-general is not without room to manoeuvre is demonstrated by the $1 million cutback he has ordered in the travel expenses of correctional service staff.

There are perks he can take away from prisoners, too, without interfering with their chances to become useful, productive citizens.

Editorial. Times-Colonist

$2 million saving we can't afford

17 Jan. 1983

A program that saves taxpayers far more money than the cost of the program itself seems tailor-made for times of restraint.

Yet just such a program — university studies in federal prisons — is about to be axed by the Canadian Penitentiary Service.

Nowhere has the program of post-secondary education been better received by inmates or more successful than in British Columbia; of the 1,500 federal inmates in this province, 157 are taking courses. That's more than one out of every 10 inmates, more than three times better than the national ratio of one in 33.

It's likely that many Canadians heartily agreed with the decision to cut this program: why spend money on a pack of criminals who are just filling in time between summer riots, especially when times are tough?

Here's why.

One study, using an admittedly small sample of 70 former inmates who were in the prison university program, shows that the recidivism rate — the percentage of released convicts who end up back in prison — was 14 per cent. Compare that to the 52 per cent rate for the general prison population.

A University of Ottawa criminologist challenged the study's findings because proper testing criteria weren't followed, but even that critic didn't dispute the value of the program.

The public should realize that the prison university studies program doesn't mean the taxpayer is paying for university degrees for a bunch of cons; very few prisoners ever actually earn a degree.

Instead, the university program gives many inmates a perspective on life that they, for diverse reasons, never got as children and young adults. And the record suggests that it achieves rehabilitation where other efforts have failed dismally.

The annual cost of keeping an inmate in a federal maximum-security prison is about $36,000. The annual medium-security bill is $23,000 a prisoner, $18,000 for minimum security.

Assuming the 14 per cent recidivism rate for program participants holds true, 135 of the 157 B.C. inmates now taking university courses in B.C. pens won't return to prison once they're released.

If all 135 are currently in minimum security institutions, staying out of jail in the future would save the public $2,436,000 a year; savings would be almost $5 million a year if those prisoners were all in maximum-security prisons.

By cancelling the university program in federal prisons across the country, CPS will save about $2 million over the next two years.

That's not restraint. That's waste.

16 ■ Montréal, vendredi 18 février 1983
LE DEVOIR

Diplôme de prison

La communauté universitaire a vivement réagi en apprenant que le gouvernement fédéral venait de couper les programmes d'éducation post-secondaire dans les pénitenciers du pays. A vrai dire, la décision du Solliciteur général, M. Robert Kaplan, est tout à fait incompréhensible. Pour justifier une pareille coupure, Ottawa devra invoquer davantage que le besoin de compressions budgétaires. En effet, dans le bilan généralement sombre du système carcéral, le programme universitaire pour les détenus représentait, même d'après les évaluations du ministère, une réussite remarquable.

D'après les données disponibles, ce programme peu dispendieux était fort bien reçu tant chez les détenus qu'auprès des institutions. Les bénéficiaires de cette formation adaptée non seulement aux prisonniers mais aussi au milieu carcéral lui-même connaissaient un taux de récidive nettement moins élevé que dans les autres programmes de réhabilitation. On tenait là, peut-être, une des rares voies de réforme pour le régime correctionnel.

Il saute aux yeux que des détenus valorisés à leurs propres yeux et aptes à vivre de façon indépendante constituent des membres doublement précieux pour la communauté. Ils peuvent aussi représenter, pour l'ensemble de la population pénitentiaire, un modèle et un espoir pour l'avenir. Les risques d'explosions meurtrières dans les institutions et le danger pour la société en général s'en trouvent réduits d'autant.

Devant un filon si prometteur, on se serait attendu que le Solliciteur général accorde une attention privilégiée à ce genre de contribution. Pour une fois en effet que des universités ouvrent un tel service à la collectivité, M. Kaplan avait une occasion en or de consolider cette forme de coopération. Avec une brutalité devenue la marque distinctive de son administration, il a mis les universités et les étudiants-détenus devant le fait accompli de la suppression du programme par une simple déclaration aux Communes.

Nous n'en aurions rien su si les universitaires mêlés de près au dossier n'avaient sonné l'alarme. On n'ose croire que ce soit cette indépendance d'esprit qui a valu aux universités et à ce programme d'avoir été mis à la porte des pénitenciers. Les prisons ne sont pas seulement séparées de la population, au Canada, elles ont aussi érigé entres elles et la société des murs parfois plus hauts et plus étanches que les grilles des « super-maximum ». Rares sont encore les passerelles qui permettent des échanges entre les deux univers.

Depuis que les pénitenciers, surpeuplés et toujours négligés des gouvernements, sont devenus dans plusieurs provinces d'instables poudrières, le réflexe qui a prévalu dans les institutions et au bureau du Solliciteur général a été de fermer davantage le milieu. Sous prétexte de sécurité, on tient de moins en moins à la présence à l'intérieur des murs de gens bien formés et indépendants dont les constations et le témoignage pourraient s'avérer embarrassants. Il faut presque avoir le statut d'observateur international pour exercer un regard le moindrement critique sur ce milieu.

Or, justement, le programme d'éducation mis au point par l'Université Laval, par exemple, ne s'adressait pas seulement aux détenus pris individuellement. Il visait le milieu carcéral lui-même et l'ensemble de son personnel. Une telle approche est audacieuse. Elle est susceptible d'entraîner dans le service correctionnel et la gestion des institutions des bouleversements importants.

Ce n'est un secret pour personne, en effet, que si le gros de la population carcérale provient des couches défavorisées et peu instruites de la société, il en va à peine différemment pour les gardiens et maints autres intervenants dans le système. Les détenus les plus doués ne sont pas les seuls à avoir besoin de diplôme et d'ouverture aux sciences et à l'ensemble de la culture. Les prisonniers ne sont pas les seules victimes de la triste sous-culture qui s'est développée avec le temps dans ces institutions. Nombre d'administrateurs gagneraient à s'asseoir sur les mêmes bancs.

Jean-Claude LECLERC

APPENDIX B

Coding Schedule Used to Extract Data from Inmate Files

Prison Participation Study

Card Four

Column No.	Variable	Code
1 - 3	Serial number	
7 - 12	Date of birth	Day, month, year eg. 050648
13	No. of aliases noted	0 = 0 1 = 1 2 = 2 ⋮ 9 = 9 or more
14 - 19	Date of most recent sentence	Day, month, year
20	Place of arrest	B.C. = 1 Prairies = 2 Ont. = 3 Que. = 4 Maritimes = 5 Territories = 6
21 - 24	Length of sentence (in days)	Actual no.
25 - 30	Warrant expiry date	Day, month, year
31 - 36	Mandatory supervision date	Day, month, year
37	Religious affiliation	Atheist = 1 R.C. = 2 Prot. = 3 Jewish = 4 ⋮ = 9
38	Marital status	Single = 1 Divorced/ Separated = 2 Common Law = 3 Married = 4
39	Occupational status (if none, leave blank)	Unskilled = 1 Skilled = 2 Clerical/Sales = 3 Managerial/ Administrative = 4 Professional/ Technical = 5

200

Column No.	Variable	Code
40 - 41	Height in inches	Actual height
42 - 44	Weight in pounds	Actual weight
45	Eye color	Blue = 1 Green = 2 Brown = 3 Hazel = 4 = 5 = 6
46	Any tatoos?	No = 1 Yes = 2
47	Previous penitentiary experience?	No = 1 Yes = 2
48	"Severity" of most serious present offence	Minor = 1 Moderate = 2 Serious = 3 Major = 4
49	Inmate's current 'S' rating	1---6
50	Type of offence:	
	- Against person:	Non-drug = 1 Drug = 2 Sex = 3
	- Against property:	Relationship implied = 4 No relationship needed = 5
	- Against good order:	Societal order = 6 Community order = 7
	- Against administration of justice:	Prison related = 8 Non-prison related = 9
51 - 52	No. of "present" offences	01 - 99
53 - 54	No. of past offences	0 = 0 1 = 1 2 = 2 3 = 3 ⋮ 10 = 10 or more
55 - 56	No. of transfers in present sentence	0 = 99

Column No.	Variable	Code
57	Dominant direction of transfer	Higher 'S' level = 1 None dominant = 2 Lower 'S' level = 3
58	Any previous non-pen. convictions?	No = 1 Yes = 2
59	History of violence?	None = 0 Yes, in prison = 1 Yes, in community = 2
60	Extent of violence	None = 0 Little = 1 Moderate = 2 Extensive = 3
61	Results of violence	None = 0 Property damage = 1 Injury = 2 Death = 3
62	Violence involved use of: (If no violence, leave blank)	No weapons = 1 Firearms = 2 Other (explosives, etc.) = 3
63	No. of suicide attempts	None = 0 1 = 1 2 = 2 3 = 3 4 = 4
64	Previous protective custody	No = 1 Yes = 2
65	History of escape	No = 1 Yes = 2
66 - 69	Involvement in institutional incidents:	
	- sit down	No = 1 Yes = 2
	- riot	No = 1 Yes = 2
	- hostage taking	No = 1 Yes = 2
	- assault	No = 1 Yes = 2
70	Relative noted	No = 1 Yes = 2
71 - 74	Synopsis of history: Evidence of:	
	- broken or "rough" parental home	No = 1 Yes = 2
	- drug abuse	No = 1 Yes = 2
	- "criminal" family activity	No = 1 Yes = 2
	- broken or "rough" marriage	No = 1 Yes = 2

Column No.	Variable	Code
75 - 76	Educational level at start of sentence	Grade 4 = 4 5 = 5 6 = 6 ⋮ 12 = 12 Partial 13 = 13 Univ. 14 = 14 15 = 15 Univ. 16 = 16
77	Previous drug involvement	None = 0 Alcohol = 1 Soft = 2 Hard (Opiates) = 3
78	Current offences related to drugs	None = 0 Alcohol = 1 Soft = 2 Hard = 3
79	Congenital medical ailment noted	No = 1 Yes = 2
80	Card Number	Always 4